

Social Order

REALISM VS. IDEALISM

William V. O'Brien

JANUARY 1961

40c

LAND REFORM IN LATIN AMERICA

Ernest Feder

•

RELIGION AND POLITICS

Edward Duff

•

COAL INDUSTRY—THE LEADER

John Killeen

BOOKS • LETTERS • COMMENT

MONTHLY OF NATIONAL JESUIT SOCIAL SCIENCE CENTER

Social Order

Vol. 11

No. 1

January

1961

- 1 . . . just a few things
Religion and Politics Edward Duff, S.J.
- 7 The Coady International Institute Richard M. McKeon
- 12 Modern Christians and the
Wealth of Cities Dennis Clark
- 23 Coal Industry — The Leader John F. Killeen
- 29 Land Reform in Latin America Ernest Feder
- 37 Realism vs. Idealism William V. O'Brien
- 42 Books

Political Thought; Men and Ideas; Premarital Sexual Standards in America; America and the World of Our Time; U.S. Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century; The Christian Family Apostolate; Proceedings of the Seventh Catholic Social Life Conference, 1959; Structure and Process in Modern Societies; Modern Science and the Human Fertility Problem; Social Security Programs, Problems, and Policies; Husbands and Wives; The Dynamics of Married Living; The Family and Population Control; A Puerto Rican Experiment in Social Change; Demographic Yearbook, 1959; Brass-Knuckle Crusade; Man and the Sacred; Christian Family Finance; Yearbook of American Churches; American Marriage; a Way of Life.

48 Letters

Members of the Institute of Social Order: Leo C. Brown, Director, Edward Duff, Editor of SOCIAL ORDER, David C. Bayne, Joseph M. Becker, Paul P. Harbrecht, John L. Thomas.

Published monthly (except July and August) by The Institute of Social Order at 3908 Westminister Place, Saint Louis 8, Mo. Registered at U. S. Patent Office. Second class postage paid at Saint Louis, Mo. Contents copyright by Institute of Social Order. Views expressed herein are not necessarily opinions of The Institute of Social Order. A volume index is published in the December issue. Current contents are indexed in Sociological Abstracts, Public Affairs Information service, Catholic Periodical Index, Current Sociology, Guide to Catholic Literature.

Subscription rates: \$4 a year, \$7 for 2 years, \$9 for 3 years. Single copy, 40c. Please allow one month for change of address.



. . . just a few things

Religion and Politics

EDWARD DUFF, S.J.

THE recent Presidential election established one thing at least: there is no great place in contemporary America for a Society for the Repeal of the Sixth Amendment, a move disingenuously suggested by five professors of the Yale Divinity School in a letter to the *New York Times* as a proper project for Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State. While the campaign undoubtedly settled the "no religious test for public office" issue and may even have clarified the image of Catholicism as a creed and a social reality, much that was said tended to obscure the role of religion in the political order. Indeed, one often got the impression that religion was a pretty irrelevant business in the political arena. In his inevitable efforts to assert his independence of clerical control, Mr. Kennedy sometimes seemed to ask that his Catholicism not be held against him, suggesting that it was something that he had inherited as a family tradition and which, anyhow, wouldn't make any difference. "I believe in a President," he told the audience of ministers at Houston, "whose views on religion are his own private affair." One reading of that remark would have religious allegiance a matter of undiscussable personal taste; it could be interpreted to mean that Mr. Kennedy chooses to at-

tend the Catholic Church as he chooses to order his clothes from a Regent Street tailor and that each option was equally innocent. The stance should have suited the audience; it was, in effect, a specifically Baptist protestation of everyman being his own church.

In a sense, it was a compliment that it was the candidate who was a Catholic who was interrogated as to the relation of his faith to his public duties. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale shrugged off the implications of Vice-President Nixon's Quaker background when announcing his support of him for a position which would have made him Commander in Chief of our armed forces. "I don't know that he ever let it bother him," was the reason, hardly a conspicuous example of positive thinking. Indeed, Professor John C. Bennett had cause to complain:

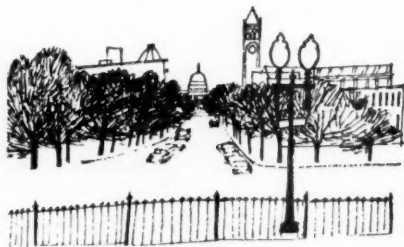
In much of the discussion of the danger of having a Roman Catholic president the assumption has been made that being a Protestant Christian is an entirely innocuous occupation and that there could be no conflicts of conscience between a Protestant and the demands of public office.

Catholicism is sensed to be a special kind of religion. There was confronting Mr. Kennedy the common realization that Catholicism is a corporate thing, that the Catholic Church teaches as having authority from her Founder, Jesus Christ, that her teaching com-

mands the assent of her adherents. There was, moreover, the well-publicized existence of well-documented claims of the Church's authority to judge the political sphere, an assertion sharply up-dated by *Osservatore Romano's* editorial of May 19, "Fermi Puncti," which protested that "it is absurd to split the conscience into one part which is that of the believer and one which is that of the citizen." A Catholic priest, replying that politics "belongs not to the order of morality and piety but to the order of law," hoped to allay fears that a Catholic President would be obliged to impose the specific moral judgments of his Church on his fellow citizens; his unhappy phrasing of the problem, however, suggested that he was expounding the legal positivism of Hans Kelsen or the spiritual *laissez-faire* of Dr. Martin Luther's doctrine of the Two Realms, the Heavenly Kingdom of love and forgiveness and the Earthly Kingdom of the sword and the law.

The things that belong to Caesar and the things that belong to God, sorting them out and relating religion to political action is a permanent problem, one made surely no simpler for the Catholic who is a member of a Church teaching with authority. The solution of the problem was dubiously illumined by the decision of the Puerto Rican hierarchy to forbid Catholics to give their vote (and, presumably, much less their candidacies) to the Popular Democratic Party, an incident having all of the *éclat* and finesse of the U-2 affair. From this distance even an attentive reading of the serious press leaves a confused impression. With bishops correcting their own chancellors, with Cardinal Spellman declaring a week

after taking dinner with Governor and Mrs. Muñoz Marín that it would be "no sin" to vote for him and with the post-election announcement of the condemned party that its program and inspiration are "Christian," it was impossible for an outsider to know quite what was up. The Archbishop of San Juan, at least, appears appeased by the formal announcement of Senor Muñoz and his political associates. Seemingly, it is now consonant with Catholic loyalty to support the Popular Democratic Party and to hold office in its name. An interesting question remains: what obedience was due the bishops' directive by a Catholic who had personal knowledge that the condemned party was inherently "Christian"?



Assurance that "it can't happen here," even when offered by the Apostolic Delegate, is not altogether intellectually satisfactory. No priest—much less a bishop—suggested to any American congregation during the recent campaign how to vote. Had it been attempted, it might well have evoked a response duplicating one reported in a recent news story:

CATANIA, Sicily, Dec. 8 (Reuters)—A Sicilian court has ruled that it is no offense for an Italian to heckle a Roman Catholic priest during a church sermon if the priest is talking politics. Giuseppe di Bella had been charged after he shouted in church at Trecastagni during a sermon by the local priest: "Don't hold a rally—

get on with the Mass." Local elections were being held in Sicily at the time.

Certainly, the editor of the diocesan weekly who reprinted the Herblock cartoon depicting two crestfallen figures, one labeled "Protestant bigot," the other "Puerto Rican clericalism," commiserating with one another on their lack of success in the elections, had no doubt that the direct interference of the bishops in the political process was contrary to the traditions of American Catholicism.

It is interesting to speculate to what extent the conception of the proper relationship of Church and State in this country is the product of the conviction of the Catholic laity, an instance of what Karl Rahner, S.J., has called the influence of the *ecclesia discens*. It will be remembered that when Charles C. Marshall in 1928 invited Al Smith to reconcile the assertions and implications of Leo XIII's encyclical *Immortale Dei* with his allegiance to American democratic institutions, the Governor riposted: "So little are these matters of the essence of my faith that I, a devout Catholic since childhood, never heard of them until I read your letter." During the campaign just concluded, the hierarchy and the professional theologians were notably mute, being either weary of explaining distinctions in a complicated area or, more probably, fearful of seeming to be electioneering for Mr. Kennedy. The most striking contribution, an indirect one, from an American bishop was that of Archbishop Karl J. Alter of Cincinnati. In an interview in the June *Sign* the Chairman of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (and, thus, the spokesman for the hierarchy) dismissed the *Sylla-*

bus of Errors of Pius IX as historically conditioned.

The most notable theological document during the campaign was the statement signed by 166 lay Catholics and released on October 5. At a press conference at the Willard Hotel in Washington that same day, William Clancy, editor of *Worldview* and one of the organizers of the statement, was asked to account for the absence among the signatories of a single prominent theologian "who would endorse the statement on behalf of the Church." Mr. Clancy answered:

We did not think it would. There seems to be a notion abroad among some Americans that Catholic laymen are afraid to open their mouths without consulting a priest. We thought that on this question we should go ahead, exercising our freedom as American citizens, and also as Catholic citizens—citizens of the Church—to speak out on our convictions. We thought we should express these convictions, quite confident of our orthodoxy. We saw no reason to consult the hierarchy.

Dr. William Nagle, another organizer of the statement, added:

I might say, just for your information, that so far as we know no member of the hierarchy saw the statement before we issued it. At least, if they saw it, they did not receive it from one of us. We do not think of ourselves as being revolutionary in any sense. We think this is a legitimate function of Catholic laymen anywhere. There is such a thing as public opinion in the Church—this perhaps is an exercise of it.

The situation, parenthetically, recalls a debate currently under way in Holland on the role of the layman in theological questions. The Dominican weekly *De Bazuin* of October 15 was led to comment:

The question of knowing whether such and such an operation can be justified morally can only be solved through the strict collaboration of theologians and sur-

geons. How to make the child familiar with the world of the faith is a question which should be discussed in common by parents, pastors and other educators. To decide whether Catholics can belong to this or that social or political organization demands not only theological knowledge but also information on this particular organization. We could continue on this point indefinitely. To summarize, let us say that the encounter of religious convictions and the different domains or aspects of concrete reality poses in each instance a problem, the solution of which supposes competences which are not wholly of a theological kind. If the theologians in such cases wish to play the game by themselves, one can properly remind them: "Shoemaker, stick to your last!"

In any case, we now have deeply scored into the group consciousness of American Catholics the conviction that the Catholic Church does not need, does not want and should not receive preferential treatment in the political structure of our society. On this point, John Fitzgerald Kennedy has seemingly, by default, become a Doctor of the Church. That such a position has wide acceptance in the Catholic world might possibly be argued from the republication in other journals of the editor's modest exposition of the American experience of Church-State relationship which appeared in the November issue of *SOCIAL ORDER*. By December 1 tear-sheets of its appearance had arrived at our office from the following sister-reviews: *Stimmen der Zeit* (Munich), *Mensaje* (Santiago de Chile), *Christian Order* (London), *Social Survey* (Melbourne), *Streven* (Amsterdam), *Orientierung* (Zurich), *Philippine Studies* (Manila), *Studies* (Dublin), *Estudios* (Buenos Aires), *Relations* (Montreal) and *Choisir* (Fribourg). Represented in this list are ten nations, six languages, five continents. It would not seem, then, that the American Catholic view of

the correct and most fruitful relations of Church and State represents a particularly "minority" view in the Universal Church.

The political enterprise

Despite such evidence of Catholicism's adaptability to American political structures (indeed, its conviction that its moral support lends them a desperately needed strengthening), a doubt persists. Professor Roger L. Shinn expressed his conception of our essential "askewness" in an exceptionally thoughtful article in *Christianity and Crisis* for November 14th:

Theoretically, Roman Catholicism claims to be the true Church, vested with infallibility in matters of faith and morals beside which all other Christian groups are pseudo-churches.

Sociologically and politically, it takes its place as one church in the midst of a religious pluralism which it endorses. These two propositions may be logically compatible. Probably they are culturally and psychologically irreconcilable in the American future.

But haven't we here an imitation of the rigorous logic of the canonists who, not least when preparing concordats, feel compelled to safeguard the claims of the Catholic Church to be *the One, True Church*? All of this is (for the Catholic) obvious, unimpugnable theological teaching; but what the truth or error of the assertion has to do with the citizen's involvement in the political enterprise of assuring the peace and temporal prosperity of the community escapes the American Catholic. If the issue is analyzed in its proper, if humdrum, political dimension, Professor Shinn's dilemma disappears. If American Catholics are universally persuaded—as they obviously

are—that the citizen's political rights are not—and cannot be—conditioned by his confessional allegiance, there is no possibility of either logical incompatibility nor cultural and psychological irreconcilability (what a ghastly plight!), of being simultaneously an intransigent Catholic and a blue-apron American.

It may be news to the Catholic world but the question of whether one should possess greater or less political rights, depending upon one's confessional allegiance, has been simmering up into the forge where international public law is fabricated. For some years now the UN's Commission on Human Rights has been drafting covenants to clothe the generalities of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with specifications, a futile business since the United States has made clear that it will not present the documents to Congress for ratification and since the Soviet Union is shamelessly unconcerned about its obligations under such treaties. Nevertheless, a Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the UN Commission on Human Rights has been working on an Article on religious freedom. It has recently presented its phrasing to its parent Commission which will refer the text to the Economic and Social Council and then ultimately to the UN General Assembly. The preamble states in part:

Whereas the disregard of human rights and fundamental freedoms and in particular of the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion has brought in the past untold sorrow to mankind; whereas it is therefore the duty of governments, organizations and private persons to promote . . . respect for the dignity of man and a spirit of understanding, tolerance and friendship among all religious and

racial groups, as well as among all nations . . .

Catholic interest in this international effort to formulate principles of religious freedom have not been noteworthy. Are our theologians waiting for the United Nations to summon them as expert witnesses?

Ecumenical repercussion

This note has not, the writer realizes, fulfilled its promise to discuss the relation of religion to political action. The subject is an immense one. One astonishing aspect is its repercussions in the Ecumenical Movement. Preaching in the Grace Protestant Episcopal Cathedral in San Francisco on December 4, the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. urged, with the support of the Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of California, a union of the Methodist, the Protestant Episcopal, the United Presbyterian and the United Church of Christ. One of the reasons urged for the proposed merger was the need of providing religion with a stronger voice in public affairs. Said Dr. Blake:

Another clear reason for moving toward the union of American churches at this time came home to me with compelling force during the Presidential campaign this fall . . . Now that the election has been decided and nobody really knows how much the religious question figured in the result, I recall the issue to remind you that one result is clear. Every Christian Church, protestant, orthodox, Anglican and Roman Catholic has been weakened by it. Never before have so many Christian churches, divided as Americans agreed that they are, [Sic—*New York Times*—Ed.] cannot be trusted to bring to the American people an objective and authentic word of God on a political issue.

Americans more than ever see the churches of Jesus Christ as competing social groups pulling and hauling, propagandizing and pressuring for their own organizational advantages.

The sincere moral earnestness of such reasoning, coupled with its seeming willingness to short-circuit theological conflicts, seems a throwback to the mentality of "doctrines divide, action unites" era of the early Life and Work Movement in Protestant Christianity.

The relation of religion to society was the theme of the first annual Morgenstern Lecture sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. It was delivered by Professor John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary. In an exposition whose insights are shared by American Catholics, Dr. Bennett spoke of the pre-political, indirect influence of religion upon political decision, one that "affects the moral assumptions and scale of values in the community."

One area where this influence is desperately needed today is in the matter of interracial justice.

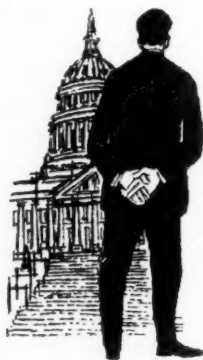
It was two years before the Supreme Court's desegregation decision that Secretary of State Acheson had cause to declare:

The continuance of racial discrimination in the United States remains a source of constant embarrassment to this Government in the day-to-day conduct of its foreign relations; and it jeopardizes the effective maintenance of our moral leadership of the free and democratic nations of the world.

It is six years after that decision that the State Department has the embarrassing chore of endeavoring to find housing for the embassies of 20 new African countries in our nation's capital. It is likewise six years since school desegregation became the law of the land that a mob of women have taken

their post before the William Frantz School in New Orleans to terrify parents prepared to allow their first-grade children to attend classes with three little colored girls. Many of the women are Catholics, determined to make it clear to Archbishop Rummel that they will not accept his promise to desegregate parochial schools.

Religion has something to say here, beginning with St. Paul's announcement that God made men of one blood to dwell upon the face of the earth. Religion has something to do in this situation as is illustrated by the photograph of Father Jerome A. Drolet, breviary in hand, accompanying the Rev. Lloyd A. Foreman, as the pastor of St. Mark's Methodist Church lead his little girl to the Frantz School past a shrieking mob.



Mr. Kennedy was quite decisive about the pressure of his conscience on his conduct of the Presidential office. In this instance he has the clear guidance of his Church whose hierarchy in 1958 termed enforced segregation "morally evil." After the years of apathy of the Executive to the decision of the Supreme Court, here is one area where "America must move forward"—as the President-elect has promised.

The Coady International Institute

RICHARD M. McKEON, S. J.

ON THE EVE OF DECEMBER 2, 1959 a momentous decision was announced by Monsignor H. J. Somers, president of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia. It was the creation of the Coady International Institute to honor the zealous priest who had guided the Antigonish Movement to world-wide prominence. And it was fitting that the announcement should reach the public on the feast of St. Francis Xavier; it is under the patronage of the famous apostle of the Indies that the Institute will strive to carry the message of Christian social justice to the distressed people of many lands.

The idea for such an institute had long been in the mind of the late Bishop John R. MacDonald. He had discussed the project with the university officials and finally it was "decided to place our work for international students on a more organized basis under a special director." The authorities asked the Canadian hierarchy to release Monsignor Frank J. Smyth, director, Social Action Department, Canadian Catholic Conference, so that he might assume the directorship of the proposed institute. The request was granted; among the last acts of Bishop MacDonald, who died on December 18, was the official appointment of Monsignor Smyth who

reported to Antigonish in February.

In August I was privileged to visit this great university and to lecture in the summer school of social action for priests and seminarians. My stay afforded me an excellent opportunity to discuss the program of the Coady International Institute with Monsignors Somers and Smyth and other interested persons. They were frank in stating that the program is far from settled. Certain decisions will depend upon the financial support received. One thing, however, was most evident and that is the common enthusiasm for the new project.

Monsignor Smyth has thrown himself into the work with his customary zeal. He realizes the challenge and writes:

A start has been made on what I am convinced is one of the most difficult and yet one of the most significant assignments in the history of St. Francis Xavier University . . . I can say I have been gratified by the widespread interest and enthusiasm shown and the general support offered the Coady International Institute.

Social action in foreign fields is not a new thing for this university. For 25 years the Extension Department has received students from many lands who came to St. F.X. to study the philosophy

Father McKeon, S. J., is the Director of Le Moyne College's Institute of Industrial Relations at Syracuse, N.Y.

and techniques of its program, to see its principles in action in credit unions and cooperatives, and then to return to their homelands filled with a burning zeal to aid their fellowmen. Likewise experts from the faculty have given their services in underdeveloped countries.

Many of these students have been sponsored by the Colombo Plan, UNESCO, FAO, ICA and the Knights of Columbus. When I ran down the roster of students since 1949, they represented these lands: India, South and Central America, Korea, Pakistan, Egypt, Uganda, Burma, Formosa, Viet Nam, and many sectors of the Caribbean. Students are welcome without regard to color, race or creed. On the campus Moslems, Jews, Buddhists and Christians mingle together in earnest discussion.

What, then, is the purpose of the new Institute? It is seen in the words of the late director of extension, Monsignor M. J. MacKinnon:

The possibilities for the application of this program to the underdeveloped countries of the world are unlimited. It is a program of self-help and mutual help. It takes the people where they are, even the illiterate, and leads them to the highest possible level of human performance. It is inexpensive and easily applicable to large numbers of people over wide areas. It is also big enough philosophically and scientifically to appeal to the most fastidious. It is a program suited to democracy in this scientific and technological age. It is a program of adult education that begins in the economic field, fans out into every phase of human activity and which will give life to all nations and all peoples, and not just to the favored few.

At present the Institute is concentrating on special social and economic action in foreign fields. To this end there is offered a diploma course in so-

cial leadership covering a nine-month period. The subject matter embraces the philosophy and principles of cooperation, economics, cooperative service organizations, communication workshop, community development and so on. Field work is extensive.

A special course will be offered to Catholic students to explain the relationship of cooperation to the Mystical Body of Christ. It will likewise show how the liturgy of the Church meets man's social needs and prepares him for more effective work in every phase of social action. Missionaries, priests and religious, will learn the practical techniques of adult education and social action to serve them best when they go to their posts.

The Institute is building up an excellent staff of teachers. As Monsignor Smyth pointed out:

Because the international program is a specialized one, we must have a staff with specialized training. As a team we must in the aggregate know well not only the Antigonish Movement at home, but also something about the religions, languages, laws and customs—in a word, something about the cultures of all the peoples of the world. But, important as knowledge and training are, there is something more vital—and that is love of people.

In the cemetery overlooking the campus of St. F.X. are buried the remains of four great men who contributed to the past extension work. Their names are Bishop John R. MacDonald, Msgr. Hugh MacPherson, Dr. M. J. MacKinnon, and Dr. M. M. Coady. All died within a few months of one another. When I looked down at the modest markers, I felt that I was on holy ground. These men had devoted their lives at great personal sacrifice to the cause of social justice. I doubt if

there is a similar plot in the whole world. I also thought another pioneer should be there, namely, Father Jimmy Tompkins to whom St. F.X. is everlastingly indebted.

A short distance below on a beautiful hillside site there is nearing completion the first unit of the Coady International Institute. The Trans-Canadian Highway will pass close by.

Who was responsible for this building, begun so soon after the Institute was announced? It was His Eminence, Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston. On hearing about the proposed Institute he promptly gave \$200,000 for the construction of a residence for priests who will train there for missionary service in lands to which they will bring the Antigonish Movement. The gift was made in honor of the late Bishop MacDonald. It is the first of three connecting buildings.

Commenting on the significance of the Institute, the Cardinal said: "The pioneer educational work of St. F.X. is not yet finished. It represents a great hope for the Church in these days of revolutionary changes."

With due credit to the men of vision responsible for the actual start of the Institute, it would be a grave omission not to note that Dr. Coady saw such a possibility many years before. In *Masters of Their Own Destiny*¹, he wrote:

To this end we advocate the creation of a people's research institute, owned and financed by the people themselves and operated for the benefit of the entire country. In this institute men of talent and learning would be free to serve their fellowmen . . . Such an institute should be international in scope and operation . . .

On August 26, 1949, when he addressed the United Nations at Lake Success, Dr.

Coady repeated the same theme and at one point said: "Such an uplift of the people will drive out exaggerated nationalism and tend to kill international jealousies."

When Father Michael Gillis, a co-worker in many endeavors and in the words of Dr. Coady "the person most responsible for the creation of the St. F.X. extension work," heard about the new project, he wrote: "It reminds me of the thrills that went with Dr. Coady's enthusiasms and visions of the future. I often told him that the big development of his program would come after his death. He always agreed and convincingly."

Early in 1960 *Osservatore Romano* published a long tribute to the late Bishop MacDonald. Seldom does this paper carry a lengthy account of the passing of a bishop. This exception, therefore, stands as proof that the Holy See holds the social apostolate of Antigonish in high esteem. One paragraph read:

The international expansion of the Antigonish Movement under the inspiration of Bishop MacDonald resulted in the recently established Coady International Institute, named for Monsignor Coady, who along with Bishop MacDonald, was one of the great leaders of the movement. It is interesting to learn the mind of the late-lamented Bishop in this matter. In his last circular letter to his priests, received after his death, he wrote: "The purpose of this letter is to solicit your personal prayers for the Church in Latin America. Recently our University announced the founding of the Coady International Institute. This Institute could prove to be an important factor in assisting the dioceses of Latin America in their plans for social action."

Such is also the mind of the Canadian Bishops as expressed in their pastoral letter of January 10, 1960, concerning aid for Latin America. We read: "The

¹ Harper, New York, 1939, p. 164.

assistance given to these Latin countries, among many others, by an institution such as the widely respected St. Francis Xavier University of Antigonish, is the most valuable contribution which Canada has to offer." In this respect Monsignor Smyth hopes to visit Latin America soon to explain the work of the Institute and to offer its services.

Another acknowledgement of the high esteem in which Antigonish is held was the invitation received by Monsignor Smyth to address the UNESCO conference on adult education held in Montreal in late August. To the delegates from 50 countries he explained the philosophy of the Antigonish Movement and its practical accomplishments. The program of the new Institute created very deep interest among the delegates from underdeveloped lands.

World-wide story

The past work of the Extension Department in many parts of the world is a long and fascinating story. There are chapters, some written and more to be written, about the Antigonish Movement in Ceylon, Malaya, Australia, Ghana, Mexico, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, India, Pakistan.

In the Dominican Republic there is Father J. J. McIver, S.F.M., who has done magnificent work in credit unions and cooperatives. Out in the Fiji Islands Father Marion Ganey, S.J., has spread credit unions among primitive people and helped them to a better life. Laymen such as Augustus MacDonald, instructing the fishermen of Ceylon, and Alexander F. Laidlaw, giving his keen mind to problems in many lands, deserve high praise for their sacrifice.

Down in Dominica, B.W.I., Mother

Mary Alice, a Belgian nun, after her studies at Antigonish, set up a program of adult education. In a short time there were credit unions and cooperatives in action, releasing the poorer people from utter poverty and insecurity. She states: "Behind the business of these credit unions is a spirit of self-help and mutual aid, a spirit of brotherly love, a deepening of the common brotherhood in the Mystical Body of Christ in which we are all members."

This summer I had the privilege of meeting Father Joseph A. MacDonald of the Extension Department who since 1945 has spent a great deal of time in Puerto Rico. There he has lectured at the University of Puerto Rico and his influence has spread through the whole island. Through his efforts legislation has been enacted which favored adult education in the field of credit unions and cooperatives.

Mr. Desmond Connor, a teacher at St. F.X., writes in part about the great success of Father MacDonald:

In seven years the number of cooperatives jumped to four-and-a-half times what it was. There were no credit unions in 1945. Interest rates charged by private money lenders ranged up to 500 per cent. In 1952 there were 65 credit unions and 90 three years later. Marketing cooperatives in Puerto Rico now handle 40 per cent of the coffee crop, 50 per cent of the tobacco and all of the cotton. Over 1,600 farmers own a sugar factory with a capacity of 40,000 tons per year. Recently an annual cooperative yearbook was dedicated to "the men of Antigonish".

Thus, behind the program of the new Institute, there is a wonderful tradition of aid to underdeveloped lands. Already there have been several courses in social leadership for missionary priests and lay people from foreign lands. But the first major project abroad began in June in Basutoland, Africa. In this country there are 800,000 Africans and 2,000

whites. At the invitation of Father Romeo Gilbeault, former rector of Pius XII University, a team of three men from St. F.X. has been at work to organize an extensive program of agriculture rehabilitation and social improvement.

Heading the team is Father George Topshee who has been a leader in social work for many years; Joseph T. Chiasson, a specialist in adult education; and Albert Mohale, a native Basutolander who completed two years of study at St. F.X. where he received his master's degree in political science. Father Topshee returned to Canada in September leaving Mr. Chiasson to direct the project for the rest of the first year. Then Mr. Mohale will carry on as director of extension services.

A letter from Father Topshee received in August was full of enthusiasm. He writes:

The new extension department is coming very well. I spent all day today writing a new section for the constitution of the University covering this extension work The local paper has offered us a column, the radio station for the country has offered us a half hour every day, the Bishop wants us to take on the social work of the diocese, the College Council expects us to plan a new building for the extension department Our four months' course begins next week with 27 students, mostly teachers and government workers from every district Two Basutos will go to St. F.X. in September and perhaps two more in October.

In a time of world crisis what St. Francis Xavier University has done and is doing to bring its constructive program of social action to the distressed nations is without parallel. The University has very limited financial means. Accordingly, the program of the Coady International Institute will be severely handicapped unless abundant gifts are received.

Many requests for free scholarships and aid come from worth-while applicants in distant lands. The authorities hope that various foundations will recognize the potential for international good which the Institute affords and will create scholarships and other funds. There is the pressing need of two more buildings, one for foreign students and the other for classrooms, offices, dining facilities and so on.

Archbishop Philip F. Pocock of Winnipeg has written a most commendatory letter on the aims of the new Institute. He frankly states that a great deal of money must be expended to function properly. He pays tribute to the late Bishop MacDonald and says: "Lacking resources, he established the Institute anyway in the hope that others with the required means would catch a glimpse of the same vision and set the wheels rolling."

As mentioned, the apostolic heart of Cardinal Cushing gave most generously to the first building. Who will follow? This Institute merits the support of individuals of means, of labor unions and business groups, of church and fraternal organizations. In the past the Knights of Columbus have given considerable assistance to extension work in foreign fields.

On August 10 the Most Rev. William E. Power, D.D., was formally installed as the new Bishop of Antigonish. Coming from Montreal where he was recognized as an authority and active worker in the Christian social program, he has given his blessing to the Institute. Under his inspiration and guidance there is no doubt that the last great dream of his beloved predecessor will further the uplifting of countless people from ignorance and poverty to a status befitting the true dignity of man.

Modern Christians Wealth of

DENNIS CLARK

THE ADHERENTS of the Catholic Church in the United States are urban dwellers in overwhelming proportions. They are emerging more and more from a passive social position to one in which they are testing their institutional life and leadership ability against the best that the rest of the nation has to offer. The experiences of immigration and nervous caution are fading, and the trends of mature participation and social initiative in the general current of national life are growing. Every day that passes sees Catholic Americans become more deeply involved in the powerful urban centers that are the seats of the country's technical and productive systems. We are justified in examining as intently as we can the urban economics and property holding techniques under which Catholics must labor and make their decisions with serpentine wisdom.

In examining the disposition of property in the urban environment, I can make no pretense to economic sagacity. I come to the task sincerely as a student of urban affairs with some knowledge of Catholic social teaching. There can be no easy judgment about whether our urban centers are really the "alabaster cities" we sing about or whitened sepulchres. The virtues of our new technical-industrial cities are ranged in

multitudes and their vices are legion. The task of analyzing the revolutionary city has hardly begun. Christian evaluation of urban affairs is at such an infant stage that it can hardly deliver itself of even simple nostrums for our problems.

We are all familiar with the readings and studies that have outlined the process of social revolution that has reshaped the world in the last three hundred years.¹ The three forces of industrialization, urbanization and bureaucracy have become the pillars of our social analysis and criticism. The epitome of these three forces and the climax area where they meet and change the human situation in the modern world is the revolutionary city. In the machine filled cities of our day technology and communication systems have reached every level of social life and have penetrated into the deepest recesses of the personality of man. The entire Christian heritage of values and disciplines is imperiled by the waves of social change and energy that emanate from the activity of technical urbanism. If we probe for the sources of the social changes that baffle us, we can

¹ I refer here to the works of such scholars as Georg Simmel, R. H. Tawney, Max Weber, Pitirim Sorokin, Pope Leo XIII, Jacques Maritain, Christopher Dawson, Jean Danielou, Cardinal Suhard, Barbara Ward and a host of others.

and the Cities

frequently determine that they stem from the way in which property is held and used in the urban way of life. There are ideologies and migrations and changes of social class and custom but these factors become ratified and reflected in the property structure. By looking at the property system of a society it is possible to see imbedded there the most fundamental concepts and institutional forms that guide the lives of a people. To say this is to be in no way Marxist or materialist in interpretation; it is simply to recognize the legitimate function of property as a bellwether of social trends and dispositions.

Even in the amazingly developed urban areas with their furiously interacting, complex property structures and systems, it is land that is the basic commodity, the determinant of the city's physical character and arrangement.² Our planning commissions and federal government have recognized this fact and have made a land use plan a condition of the movement to try to rebuild our jumbled urban landscape. Until the middle of the 19th century there was little control of urban land; the distinction between urban and rural areas was, moreover, vague. John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer and Henry George bitterly criticized the unearned increment

that accrued to urban land parcels because of the whims of population movement or traffic changes. As the pace of industrial urbanization increased, parallel social developments were affecting land holdings. Large land holdings were being broken up, partially because of democracy, partially because industrialism was making small land holdings equally profitable through intensive use, mining and high density building. Another development was that the legal protection and methods for exchange became much more sophisticated, demonstrating the benefits of literacy, printing and rapid communications. The security of the individual from search and seizure and confiscation was increased. In addition, land itself was declining as the dominant form of property. Although land still determined the basic shape of urban areas, it was displaced as the major element of commercial transfer. The fruits of the new mass production systems became more and more the object of property seekers and holders. All of these developments helped to create a new property situation.

Europeans pioneered with methods of urban land control as they devised the machinery of the welfare state. The welfare concept of better housing and living standards dictated some change in land uses. In the United States two World Wars and a Depression have expanded public control over land significantly. The determinant of land use in our urban areas is still a market process. Limitations on the use of property, however, have greatly increased through the use of the powers of eminent do-

A member of the City of Philadelphia's Committee on Human Relations, Mr. Clark is the author of Cities in Crisis, recently published by Sheed & Ward.

² See R. U. Ratcliff, *Urban Land Economics*, McGraw-Hill, N. Y., 1949.

main and the police power by the state. Taxation and changing judicial definitions of "public purpose" and the "general welfare" have also exerted control over land use. The creation of the urban renewal process has opened wide possibilities not only for changes in land use but for actual changes of ownership under public auspices. Migration, overcrowding, slums, squatting, chaotic land patterns and conservation policies have induced the state to increase control over urban land.⁵

The tremendous expansion and development of our cities has meant that there has been a growing competition, indeed, struggle for urban land. The population projections and census forecasts for the future indicate that this competition will become even greater. We are experiencing a land boom and land speculation orgy that is continuing the great American history of heedless land exploitation. Without the sign of a scruple, land speculators are gouging wild profit from the buildable parcels in our urban areas. Land cost has been the most rapidly rising element in the increased cost of housing. It is the number one reason for the rise of housing cost. We have confronted this jamboree of land jobbery without any real policy at any level of government. The land is the gift of God to all of the people. Social convention and natural right dictate land ownership by individuals and groups but they do not give a mandate for unscrupulous land exploitation for profit in the face of urban needs. To permit anti-social spiraling of land prices can lead to depression; it could also produce a crisis of urban development that would bring harsh land controls through taxation

policies or outright nationalization. Nobody who contemplates our coming decades of urban growth and pressure can dismiss these possibilities.

A second category of urban property is that vast reservoir of wealth that constitutes our improvements on the land and the physical products that have poured from our technological workshops. These buildings, holdings and commodities have made us the envy of the poorer nations. But envy is relative. Those who envy us might look more closely at what we have done to our society in our riotous production of abundance. The entire body of urban planners and critics are united in their remorse over the way in which we have jerrybuilt the city environment.⁶ Not only have we heaped and jammed and twisted our structures and houses and facilities into absurdly conflicting and exploitive patterns but we have done so with a sort of drunken arrogance and vulgarity. We have bragged to the world about how big and clamorous and erratic our cities are.⁷ Our urban situation today is a monument to the debauch of a great people. We move amid chrome-plated trash and practice penury of the spirit through plastics. We have bought the gimmick culture, lock, stock and power mower. What we have done to ourselves by abandoning reverence for the material world as a gift of God is almost matched by the per-

⁵ See A. M. Sakolski, *Land Tenure and Land Taxation*, Schelkenback Foundation, N. Y., 1957.

⁶ See the various annual publications of the American Society of Planning Officials and such works as *The Exploding Metropolis*, Doubleday, Garden City, N. Y., 1958 and J. L. Sert, *Can Our Cities Survive?*, Harvard University Press, 1942.

⁷ We sent, for instance, the brassy and tawdry production, "West Side Story," to Moscow, perhaps to convince our Soviet critics either of our urban violence or of our ability to make successful musicals out of it.

⁸ See *Urban Land Problems and Policies*, Bulletin 7, Housing and Town and Country Planning, United Nations, N. Y.

versions to which we have put our goods and inventions. Through our reckless use of property on the urban scene we have banished beauty, decimated community life and hacked up our social substance upon the Procrustean bed of economics in a materialistic binge.⁷

Economic growth

During the last year John Kenneth Galbraith has kept a hot debate going on the subject of our future economic growth.⁸ The issue of whether to further indulge our private splurge or to cast our gifts upon the public altars was introduced into the current political campaign. We know we have a bad record of the control of property in the private sphere. And we recoil from further feeding the governmental Leviathan any more for fear of jeopardizing our liberty. So, we continue with the process of "putting it in the paycheck," making Sammy run, and shrugging off any time-consuming consideration of the questions involved, because, as any little television-trained child knows, time is indeed money.

Another class of properties in the new technical cities is that of services. We are now said to live in a service economy; by this we mean that we have created a whole economic realm of valuables in terms of services for communications, education and recreation. These services have largely been organized on an impersonal basis but they do bind together the city dwellers by ties of common interest and utility. So many of these services have to do with the social needs of individuals and the cultural needs of community life that there may

be room for optimism in their growth. Despite the fact that we have pinned price tags on what are essentially humane and cultural pursuits, these services tend to refine and develop us as we mature our cultural life. The coming growth in leisure will stimulate the use of these services in our society. The best of these service media may well produce the enlightened class of urban citizens who will inspire a new era for our cities.⁹

It would be crude to classify human talent as a form of property in the city but the business psychology of the times we live in does so. Today, more than ever, the talented person is held in fealty to some great property complex. Our society competes for gifted scientists, administrators and white collar personnel. In the industrial city, man is less of a personality and more of a set of personnel characteristics with an economic value. The ultra-rational classification of the human person in economic terms may be an essential feature of the urban productive system that we have built. The viewing of the person as property seems to be one of the premises upon which we conduct our business planning and productive activity.

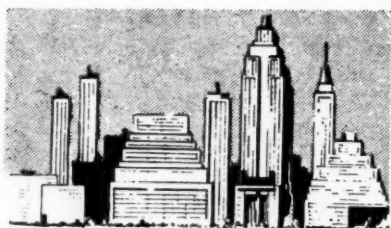
Our society has unified all of these forms of property by networks of cor-

⁷ See Joseph Wood Krutch, *Human Nature and the Human Condition*, Random House, N. Y., 1959.

⁸ See J. K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, Houghton-Mifflin, Boston, 1958.

⁹ The *London Tablet* noted editorially on January 2, 1960 in an article entitled "The New Distributism" that "Catholic sociology has long sought to see every man an owner, and the inspiration behind distributism has been a regard for human dignity and independence: the idea that the man who owned his house, or his own few acres, would feel secure in their possession . . . In fact, as things have worked out in modern England, the ownership of land or houses has bigger drawbacks than were to be seen when what may be called pastoral distributism was being preached among Catholics . . . For the sense of independence, money is now better than property." For an optimistic view of U. S. culture see Harvey Wish, *Society and Thought in Modern America*, Longmans, N. Y., 1959.

poration ownership, supply and distribution media and economic assumptions. The metropolitan areas of the industrially advanced nations are based upon this historically unique property complex. Through mass communications and distribution we have woven a functioning mechanism of the various forms of property, arranging for their interchange with great skill. We have created for our urban areas what might be called "metroproperty," a fusion of economic factors that outline and embrace metropolitan areas. Even more than the demographic factors of the metropolis, this web of "metroproperty" has been the decisive factor in the shaping of our urban situation. The national dilemma that we face is that this economic development and expansion has outstripped our local, state and federal processes for regulating it and, even more important, it has outpaced our ability to comprehend it with non-governmental social and civic controls.



None of this gives much ground for airy optimism. But social life is continuous and the tremendous power and radical qualities of the modern metropolis are such that we cannot adopt a static view of the present conditions. We are involved in a series of trends and processes in our urban property forms. These changing trends afford us the opportunity to guide and influence social and economic affairs without struggling against the dead weight of social inertia and entrenched social

forms rooted deeply in history. We can capitalize upon change for our own Christian purposes.

What are some of these trends that make the urban property situation flexible? Let me list those that seem prominent to me:

1. The separation of the urban dweller from property in its natural forms, that is, in its simple forms as the unrefined fruit of the earth, and the substitution of property in the form of artifacts, fabrications and services. This development forces upon us a searching analysis of our Christian teaching about property and our Christian teaching about cosmology and the uses of material things. The depth of this change in the use of material things and its effect upon man can be gathered by looking into some of the stimulating discussions of the Swiss theologian, Urs von Balthazar, counseling a "redemptive" use of material goods. The emphasis in Christian teaching in the future may be less upon abstention from material goods and more upon their creative and uplifting use.¹⁰

2. The transformation of property into technological forms that permit easy interchange. This has opened the possibility for a true distribution of wealth. It makes possible in practical terms, as Arnold Toynbee has said, that the welfare of all men, in material goods at least, is a realistic social objective that can be administered.

3. The dependence of the urbanite upon new types of property in the forms of disposable goods and services changes the problem of property responsibility greatly. It may be that the proletariat has found a substitute for "hard" goods and capital items and property in the

¹⁰Urs von Balthazar, *Science, Religion and Christianity*, Newman Press, Westminster, Md., 1959.

classic sense through achieving status and sufficiency by the use of a wide variety of services, insurances, incomes and opportunities. If so, this would change a good deal our traditional insistence that economic well-being and stability are rooted in the ownership of little parcels of land or enterprises, for these ideas were the product of ages conditioned by ruralism and agricultural ideals.

4. Social mobility and the legal clarification of the rights of the individual have promoted an equality of opportunity that is cutting through ancient racial and class divisions. This trend makes property more accessible to those to whom it has been traditionally denied.

5. The urban renewal and planning movement give hope that a continuous system is evolving that will insure order and wholesome uses of the property in our metropolitan areas.

6. As American culture matures there does seem to be growing a rationale for the wise use of our property. This trend is countered by the loss of control of some property as new technological inventions present unprecedented problems. The conservation movement, now enacted into law and widely supported, is an example of the growth of a property rationale. The chaotic use we have made of the automobile is an example of the loss of a rationale in the face of technological temptation.¹¹

This series of trends indicates that our property is in transition. All of our mores, ideas and institutions should be examined in the light of this changing social picture.

If we look at those social groups or institutions that legally control or own

property in the urban environment, we will have a better idea of what the pressure points are in this flexible web of "metroproperty" that underlies the dynamic modern city.

The corporation

The greatest of our property holding institutions is, of course, the corporation. The corporation dominates the urban environment and makes the key decisions about the use of time, space and property resources. But the modern corporation of the 1960s is seldom the free-wheeling enterprise that it was in the time of our grandfathers. The corporations that dominated the land and finance of the city, such as the empires of John Jacob Astor in New York, William Ogden in Chicago, Stephen Girard in Philadelphia and Sam Brannon in San Francisco, are considerably tempered. Beginning with the criticism of such thinkers as R. H. Tawney and J. M. Clark and continuing through the work of Adolf Berle, Peter Drucker and Elton Mayo, the corporation has been shaken in its imperious stance. The thesis that corporations have a higher duty than profits is being slowly established as a social maxim. In his recent book *The Meaning of Modern Business* Richard Eels traces the mellowing process affecting business institutions. Eugene Rostow of the Yale Law School in *The Corporation in Modern Society* continues the analytical debate about the role of corporations in American life. All of this social criticism of the corporation will have lasting effect. We are witnessing the taming of the raucous behavior of the corporate Big Daddy of capitalism. The degree to which the modern corporation is brought to accept social discipline and, even more important, the kind of re-

¹¹See W. Owen, *Cities in the Motor Age*, Association Press, N. Y., 1950.

sponsibility that is built into it can be influenced by Christian social teaching. This is a practical aim. Unhappily, we have been neither practical or serious about aiming at this objective.

In another great complex of property holding, there is also a keen social debate progressing. This is in the area of our public institutions and governmental programs that have moved into the property management of our cities with a wide variety of programs. Government spending, highway programs, public housing, urban renewal and many forms of subsidy and regulation have placed our governments and their property resources in a strategic position to influence the course of urban affairs. The government effect upon the housing supply, community organization, land use and population movement in urban centers can be the primary social force in city life. Through urban renewal we see the beginnings of a system of continuous inventory, planning and rebuilding of urban areas. The prospects for government intervention in private affairs and for fundamental changes in our notions of constitutional rights over property could change rapidly through the workings of this system.

"Creeping socialism"

The debate about "creeping socialism" and Big Brother Welfare State activity obscures this new process for the exchange and renovation of urban property. Here again, in addition to a changing social structure in property holding under urban government auspices, we have a dispute of ideology similar to that which revolves around the corporation.¹²

¹²See R. H. Connery and R. H. Leach, *The Federal Government and Metropolitan Areas*, Harvard University Press, 1960.

The other major amalgamation of urban property is held by the people in a widely distributed fashion. It consists of the property held by home owners, the small businesses and commercial services that dot the land use pattern as corner stores and family businesses. This property is scattered through the city landscape as if it had been blown about in successive economic tempests. Here and there islands of composition and order may exist but they are the exception in a planless scramble of city construction.¹³

The property held by the residential population and the small businessman has imparted some stability to the modern city; when viewed as a controllable economic force, however, it has been the most uncoordinated and passive property. This welter of property has been the subject of exploitation, speculation; it has been cut and stacked almost at will by the giant corporations and the government agencies. The inability of our urban populations to organize this type of property as the cohesive basis for a viable community life at the local level has led to the "eclipse of the community" because, without property as a source of stability, the cultural differences, mobility and civic conflict of the city have been overwhelming for local life.¹⁴

We are aware that a population boom and perhaps new departures in home building may greatly alter the small property holdings of urbanites. The establishment of local community life, fastened to coordinated property patterns, is greatly to be desired. Yet, here again there is strong difference of opinion among those most directly engaged

¹³See P. J. Davies, *Real Estate in American History*, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1958.

¹⁴See Maurice Stein, *The Eclipse of Community*, Princeton University Press, 1960.

with the problem. The city planners are acutely conscious of mobility; consequently, they question the ideal of a cohesive residential community. Economists and real estate experts assert that single family home ownership is really a highly unwieldy means of utilizing land. The validity of the neighborhood concept is questioned. The debate continues inconclusively while our community life sags and our suburbs sprawl.

Question of property

The questions and issues posed by the papal encyclicals concerning property must be considered in the context of the social trends that are affecting the urban property complexes that I have been attempting to describe.¹⁹ Equitable distribution of property, attitudes toward it, questions of stewardship, the protection of property rights, all of these issues must be seen in relation to the urban system with its property in flux.

What we have achieved in our metropolitan centers is a shapeless prosperity for the majority of the people. The urban economy is like the detergent soap mixtures that are one of its strenuously huckstered products. It is, when mixed, fluid and alarmingly expandable. It is all bubbles and activity. It performs its abrasive and functional task but the humans who use it may have their respiration convulsed or their skins scalded by the harsh ingredients. The most regrettable quality of our inflated, sudsy economy is that, like the soap bubbles, it cannot be grasped or coordinated or directed. It just gurgles around, floating the property with it. The danger here, of course, is that this

fluid social economy of ours, like the soap bubbles, is headed down the drain when some moment of great decision is reached.

With respect to this urban social economy, I think we are justified as Christian social actionists in asking ourselves three hard questions. Like most questioners, I do not have the answers. I am convinced, however, that we must see the role of Catholic social action in this country in relation to whatever answers we arrive at.

1. Is the metropolis as we know it inescapably built upon and supported by exploitation, waste, systematic abuse of materials and human values and a cultural delirium of mass consumption?

2. Do we need Christian oriented and directed economic media so badly that we will think about founding these media and competing with the secular or anti-Christian property forms?

3. Does the Catholic population have within the foreseeable future the social purpose and cohesiveness to mount a program affecting economic life that will give purpose to our material well-being?

Here I want to speculate upon the possibilities of social action to change the present urban situation. In exploring some of these possibilities I am assuming that the questions I have posed above are to be answered with a uniform "Yes."

If we tentatively assume that drastic changes are needed in the urban social economy and call for a highly practical and determined Christian radicalism in our society, then we must realize we face a prodigious task to effect our basic changes. To be practical we would have to set two kinds of goals: those on the skyline of the city for the long

¹⁹See M. Eberdt and G. Schnepf, *Industrialism and the Pope*, Kenedy, N. Y., 1953.

range and those just around the corner for the immediate future.

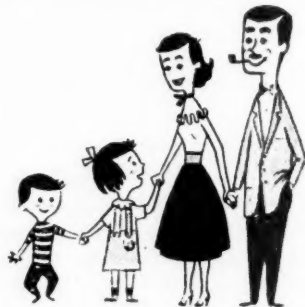
Our goals on the urban skyline may involve very fundamental changes indeed. We know we are not going to get any notable reforms unless they grow out of social roots, unless there is a shift in the social ideals and foundations of American urban society. What would some of these fundamental changes be?

1. Control of technology through social and professional discipline among the urban elite. This is a deep cultural problem. We Catholics are continually lamenting our failure to produce the apostolic elite enjoined upon us by the encyclicals. The American Association for the Advancement of Science recently announced a plan to have scientists and technicians themselves work upon the forecasting of the social effects to be produced by major inventions and innovations.

2. A clarification of the role of government in urban social-economic affairs. The problem of metropolitan development spills across our state lines and city borders. It runs counter to the governmental boundaries and restrictions enshrined in our legal and constitutional systems. We are not going to encompass our metropolitan areas or accommodate our regional urban belts with any kind of adequate control until we solve the historic puzzles presented by existing political and legal structures.

3. What new institutions under Christian inspiration do we need to affect the technological city? The whole dilemma raised by the current controversy over economic growth seems to suggest that we do need new institutions that can utilize our wealth and property for the common good. We are repelled by gluttonous and crude conspicuous consumption of economic

goods but we hesitate to confer more power and property upon the state. Perhaps a set of cooperative institutions dedicated to the common good would resolve the dilemma. Private organizations strictly dedicated to community welfare might be a further answer.¹⁸



These considerations are obviously all gauged to the historical perspective. Let us now look just around the corner to see where we can perform some immediate tasks while we gather the gradual momentum to affect the skyline issues. Here we would be on more familiar ground using more definite social action programs. What is needed in the short run is a counter force on the urban scene to contest and deflect some of the most weakening urban social influences. We need for such a counter force:

1. A leadership ethic and a training system for an urban Christian elite. We need men who will be proof against the corruption and cynicism of local government and the social indifference of corporation life. To outline the professional standards and ethical guidelines

¹⁸I have hesitated to suggest to the Third Order of St. Francis that the operation of urban corporations, with all profit assigned to charity and education, would be an admirable apostolate. The modern corporation could be much more than a field for legalizing educational work for religious orders. Some corporate experiments fusing religious discipline and modern production and economic techniques are needed.

for such a group we should have special committees of men competent in both Christian social teaching and technical skills draw up sets of codes and standards. The urban professional groups not only are poorly organized; there are, in fact, no real standards around which to organize many of the skilled groups. We have seen good attempts made at defining professional codes to govern conflicts of interest but such a step deals with a single issue not with a whole professional situation. Such high Christian sets of standards would have an immense educational and professional benefit: they would take our ideals out of the academic-scholastic, chop-logic atmosphere and into the real arena of social decision in urban affairs.



To develop our leadership elite we need course outlines for college and graduate instruction in those fields that affect urban change. We need educational plans that integrate Christian values with technical training of the highest order. This is true of the fields of architecture, public administration and the social sciences. Our Catholic higher education is weak in these areas. To commit men to these fields there must be conscious recruitment. A well done guidance folder of career information for student counselors and educators would be a beginning in this direction. Another would be a scholarship program in which deserving students showing promise in fields related to urban life would be assisted in their preparation.

2. We need a social action program entitled something like "Futures for Families." Such a program would be designed to promote familism as a social philosophy and to influence legislation and programs in urban areas on behalf of families. We badly need a lobby for the rights of families to offset the influences that are victimizing the domestic life of city dwellers. There would be an immediate double task for such a program. It could work for the defense of true family interests in the urban renewal system and in the reshaping of our national housing legislation. We are stumbling along with a housing legislation stew that was brewed in the 1930s and under wartime pressures. The first signs of a major and basic overhaul of federal housing have appeared with the government's own Fisher Report and in a growing Congressional interest in proposals for a department of urban affairs and new housing policy. We should eagerly join the fray here. But a program called "Futures for Families" should look to those families whose tomorrow is grim at present, today, right here and now. Such a group might specialize in focusing national attention on particularly scandalous situations of exploitation and neglect. This could be done most beneficially through publicity. The mass media intermittently carry out exposés but when it comes to prosecution or fundamental changes the public is fickle. We need a force on the urban scene to carry through after the headlines are forgotten.

3. Engagement in Local Community Affairs is another major area where we could exert ourselves. As a stimulus we might experiment with a travelling, skillfully developed exhibition called "Christians in New Cities." This exhibition, like so many that have been successful in planning and architectural

circles, could be aimed at stimulating Catholic awareness and involvement with local community affairs in our changing cities. Such educational ventures could produce excellent effects.



There are, to be sure, ecclesiastical contributions to be made to this problem. The implications of urbanism for the Christian mission demands a breadth and diligence of study that has not even begun to be called into play. There might well be room for an Episcopal Committee of the American Bishops to consider continuously this entire field of development and knowledge. Certainly, all should recognize that the social phenomenon of the metropolis in the technical age is a history-breaching theme that unites on a vast scale the changes and problems of our times.

We American Catholics are of a new age. We do not come from the old societies with their cultures deep in the religious and social history of the West. But, through the blessings of the modern world, we have access to the wisdom of these older societies. The problems of urban America are near to us and part of us. The size and complexity of the difficulties that confront us as Christians are intimidating. Yet, partaking of the wisdom of ancient Mother Church and walking strongly amid the monuments and excitements of our times, with the help of Christ, the carpenter, we will build new cities.

An International Symposium

Duties to Underdeveloped Countries

The Argument

Leon H. Janssen (*Rotterdam*)

The Fires of Envy

Colin Clark (*Oxford*)

Distribution of Wealth

John M. Paul (*Washington*)

Terms Need Analysis

Thomas H. Mahony (*Boston*)

Problems in International Law

David Johnson (*London*)

Call for World Economic Community

Philip S. Land (*Rome*)

Politics as Primary

Paul Crane (*Oxford*)

Economics as Primary

Virgil Salera (*Washington*)

Role of Voluntary Agencies

Edward E. Swanstrom (*New York*)

Social Function of Ownership

James L. Vizzard (*Des Moines*)

New Orientation of Economics

Francesco M. Vito (*Milan*)

The Modalities of Aid

Philippe Laurent (*Paris*)

Postscript

Edward Duff (*Saint Louis*)

40 CENTS

Institute of Social Order

3908 Westminster Place
Saint Louis 8, Missouri

"... the first practical example of a vocational group"

Coal Industry—The Leader

JOHN F. KILLEEN, S. J.

COAL, LONG THE SCENE of violent labor disputes, the battleground of John L. Lewis' many victories, is leading the way to a new social order through the establishment of what may become the first practical example of a Vocational Group, the economic structuring which *Quadragesimo Anno* called *ordines* and the American Catholic Sociological Society prefers to refer to as the Industry Council Plan.

Interest in the establishment of Vocational Groups as a means of reorganizing our social order has been waning in recent years. Those who understood their value feared that the concept would soon be classified as another of the Utopias which line our social history. Two major problems face any attempt to reduce the theory to practice: recognition on the part of each group in the industry of its common interests and problems and the relationship of the consumer to the group.

The coal industry apparently solved these problems when John L. Lewis of

the United Mineworkers and George Love, representing the bituminous coal producers, addressed the American Mining Congress, gathered in Cincinnati for its 1958 Convention; they called for cooperation rather than conflict as the answer to the coal industry's problems. The result of this meeting was the establishment of The National Coal Policy Conference. This group describes itself as, "An organization composed of coal companies, the United Mine Workers of America, coal-carrying railroads, electric utility companies, and coal equipment manufacturers, to advance the interests of the bituminous coal industry."

The failure of the President's recent call for a summit conference between labor and management demonstrates the difficulty of bringing labor and management to understand that their interests lie in cooperation with one another. The AFL-CIO and the National Association of Manufacturers could not agree upon who was to attend the meetings. Completely different, however, is the present day relationship of the various branches of the coal industry. Each has come to recognize and accept the fact that a successful indus-

This article comes from the author's dissertation research at Georgetown University.

try can exist only when the parties concerned cooperate in a mutual undertaking so that each may benefit according to his contribution and not by use of his power.

The catalyst responsible for this attitude was competition from gas and oil. In the last 15 years some 40 per cent of the coal market was lost when

railroads and domestic consumers discovered the advantages of oil and gas. Coal was losing its industrial markets as well, what with periodic labor troubles making a steady supply of fuels difficult to guarantee. The following table indicates the actual and relative decline of the coal industry at a time when America's fuel consumption was growing.

Consumption of Primary Energy by Source
1929-1955

	Amount ¹				Percentage Distribution			
	1929	1937	1950	1955	1929	1937	1950	1955
All Coal	527.0	430.0	451.0	398.0	65.5	56.7	39.6	28.6
Petroleum	173.0	193.0	382.0	570.0	21.5	25.4	33.5	41.1
Natural Gas	72.0	104.0	248.0	350.0	9.0	13.7	21.7	25.2
Water								
Power	31.0	32.0	59.0	72.0	3.9	4.2	5.2	5.2
Total	803.0	759.0	1,140.0	1,390.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Millions of tons of bituminous coal equivalents

Source: National Planning Association, *Productive Uses of Nuclear Energy: Summary of Findings*. Washington, 1957, p. 19.

The loss of these markets compounded the difficulties of bituminous coal producers, endeavoring to compete with oil and gas in those uses where cost and not convenience was paramount. Survival for the coal industry depended upon finding some way of lowering costs. Efforts to reduce labor costs resulted in low wages, low prices, and industrial strife. Mechanization was the solution. But mechanization is expensive and difficult to finance, first, because the industry was not making profits and, secondly, the banks were understandably reluctant to lend funds to an industry with such a bleak past and doubtful future.

Coal-carrying railroads also had their problems. One third of their revenue

comes from carrying coal; their \$3 billion investment in equipment was in danger of rusting away on idle sidings.

The Union had a double problem: it was faced with declining employment for its members at the same time that it was struggling to maintain the miner's standard of living.

These were the economic pressures that drew the members of the bituminous coal industry together and forced them to lay aside their personal animosities for the sake of mutual survival. The outcome was the formation of the National Coal Policy Conference.

Although the Conference is only two years old, it can point to definite results. In the opinion of Joseph E. Moody, President of the Conference, its

most important benefit is that it provides the mechanism allowing representatives of the producers, the United Mine Workers, the coal-carrying railroads, the public utilities and the manufacturers of mining equipment to meet as equals and as men faced by a common problem. Previously, some of these men had refused to meet face to face; others only met at annual wage negotiations; few recognized that they had any common interests. Now, thanks to the stimulus provided by the competition of oil and gas, they are meeting and viewing the total effect of an increase in wages or welfare benefits, prices, or railroad rates upon the demand for coal.



Some practical results of this acceptance of common concerns can be found in the cooperative efforts of the Union, producers, railroads and utilities to lower the cost of mining coal and to increase its consumption.

The United Mine Workers made its contribution to the competitive position of coal by encouraging producers to install and utilize mechanization fully. This was not an easy decision to make but it was made and carried out in the face of strong protests from the membership of the union. Leaders of the miners saw that, if wages were to keep pace with the rest of the economy, if their Health and Welfare Fund (which is dependent upon the volume of coal produced) was to grow, costs must be kept down, else coal would be driven from the market. The decision to hold

the cost of coal down through mechanization has paid off for both the producers and for the Union. Coal sells for the same price at the pit head (\$4.86 per ton) as it did in 1945 and output per man is at an all time high of 12 tons per shift.

Men vs. machinery

There are those who complain that acceptance of laborsaving machinery has meant that 200,000 men now do the work that required 400,000 in 1945. Union officials reply: the coal industry has suffered from excess capacity since the turn of the century; a full year's work, therefore, is not available to every miner.² Mechanization through its restructuring of the industry has disclosed and eliminated part of these excess mines and workers. Besides, part of the 200,000 jobs lost since 1945 was the inevitable result of the shift from coal to gas and oil; it was the remaining jobs which were lost through sheer economic necessity. It was by facing these realities and by replacing picks with automatic cutting machines that the indus-



try is today able to pay a wage of \$102.38 a week, a pay packet \$20 higher than the average for manufacturing.³

² In 1936 the 6,875 mines in operation would have produced 30 per cent more coal than was demanded if they operated for 291 days. Temporary National Economic Committee *Economic Standards of Government Price Control*. #32, Edited by Donald H. Wallace. Washington, 1941, p. 265.

³ *Statistical Abstract*, 1959, p. 228.

At the same time, producers have been able to finance a string of hospitals throughout the Appalachian coal fields for the benefit of miners and their families.

John L. Lewis summed up his position on the matter of technological unemployment in the mines in these words:

... it does not make any difference whether we have 800,000 men in the coal mines or only 50,000 . . . they ought to be treated humanely; they ought to be paid a wage to protect their living standard . . .¹

Part of the tonnage which was lost to coal when railroads changed from steam to diesels has been regained in the electric power industry. It is here that coal places its hopes for prosperity; it is also where it finds its stiffest competition. These utilities which offer such a vast market for coal recognize their dependence on and obligations to the industry. Electric utilities have been doubling their generating capacity every ten years; to continue this growth they must secure long-term supplies of low cost fuel for their generators. Coal, our most abundant natural resource, will continue to supply the largest share of these needs; our hydroelectric sites are limited as are our reserves of oil and gas. Atomic power to generate steam will not be competitive in the immediate future.

Association with members of the coal industry in the National Coal Policy Conference has brought the electric utility companies to realize their dependence upon a prosperous and efficient coal industry; as a result, they have made a definite contribution to the stability of production by abandoning

their practice of purchasing coal from mines at distress prices. They understand that the short run profits gained by playing off one producer against another are really long run losses, since they prevent proper operation and modernization of the mines. Electric utility companies have also joined with producers and the Union in financing studies in basic coal research. One example is the discovery of a process to burn the waste coal which piles up in unsightly banks of culm beside every colliery.



Both the coal-carrying railroads and producers have cooperated in granting volume rates to industrial consumers who purchase specified amounts each year. This joint effort has helped coal remain competitive along the East Coast where it must share the market with residual oil; it has aided the operators and the railroads by providing a more even and more predictable demand for the fuel and for the hoppers which carry it. The policy has had the unexpected success of opening up the utility market in Florida, formerly served exclusively by oil.

Appreciation of the manner in which each factor in the process of bringing coal to the market is interconnected has not brought complete harmony and unselfish cooperation to the industry.

¹ Hearings on Amendments to National Labor Relations Act, House Committee on Education and Labor, *Welfare of Miners* 80th Congress 1st Session 43-44, 1947.

Northern and Southern operators still compete jealously for any advantage; the Union and the railroads are eager to improve their positions whenever possible. On the other hand, the realization of their mutual interest has created a climate in which partisan advantage is not always and instinctively considered independently of its effect upon the concerns of the entire industry. It is in the discovery of this mutual interest that the National Coal Policy Conference finds the binding force and impetus that moves it in the direction of the structure and ideal proposed by advocates of Vocational Groups or Industry Councils.

The consumer's place

The solution of the problem of bringing the members of the industry to recognize their mutual interests and involvement leads to the solution of the second major problem standing in the way of any Vocational Group, the place of the consumer in such an organization. Consumer representation in the Vocational Group is simple to solve in theory but difficult in practice. If the consumer is excluded, the Group differs only slightly from a trust or cartel. But *which* consumer is to be included and *how* is he to be chosen? The average housewife, businessman, engineer is neither qualified nor has the time to pass judgment on prices, wages and economic decisions of the industry. A simple solution would be to ask the government to represent the consumer as was the case in the Guffey Coal Act of 1937. But government representation of the consumer is no solution, as Pius XI indicated when writing of the role that the government should play in a properly constituted social order. The proper role for the government, the

author of *Quadragesimo Anno* pointed out, is to watch, govern, and encourage, but not to burden itself with tasks that individuals and the groups they form can best do for themselves.⁵ Experience with price controls in peace and war has shown that these are cumbersome and difficult to apply fairly. Government, if too closely associated with industry, can destroy the life of a Vocational Group, as happened in Italy under Mussolini; on the other hand, the government may be harmed if the industry grows large enough to use it as its tool.

The consumer is represented in the National Coal Policy Conference indirectly, that is, through the electric utilities who are members of the Conference. A more efficient method of allowing the consumer to share in a Vocational Group would be difficult to devise, the interests of the utility manager and the ultimate consumer—low cost power—being identical. Officers of utility companies devote full time to controlling their costs. As businessmen they can understand the economic problems which face the coal producer; they can accurately estimate that price which will be fair to miner, producer and consumer. And, most important, the directors of utilities have the ability to protect the consumer should the Union, producers or railroads attempt to exploit their newly-found unity. This ability to resist exploitation is based on the opinion of using other fuels in generating plants, since most can raise steam with either coal or oil. In the long run the advent of nuclear power is another weapon.

While indirect representation of the consumer might not be the solution for

⁵ *On Reconstructing the Social Order*. NCWC translation, paragraph 78.

each Vocational Group, the coal community seems to have solved the problem for those Groups representing the basic industries.

The National Coal Policy Conference has, without intending to do so, provided social scientists with evidence that the Vocational Groups are natural organizations which can form spontaneously, given the proper climate. It now remains to see whether or not such a structure is durable.

If the spirit of those leading the organization is a criterion, their experiment will succeed; they are not only convinced of the value of cooperation but they are seeking criticism and evaluation from economists and other social scientists interested in such approaches to industrial harmony. The unsolved question is whether or not the individual members of the industry will continue to consider the interests of the community as well as their partisan interests. Until now the depressed state of the coal industry has made it easier to resolve conflicts of interest. But will the United Mine Workers, for example, yield in the future to the temptation to press for excessive wage and welfare increases as mechanization makes the operator more vulnerable to work stoppages?

Spokesmen for the industry say, "no." They feel that their new-found ability to talk over industry problems in an atmosphere apart from the climate of collective bargaining will limit this danger.

Whether the industry succeeds in its experiment or not, those who believe in the value of a social order based upon the concept of the Vocational Groups will learn much by observing the progress of an industry-wide attempt to base its activities on a structure of co-operation and justice.

Symposium on Humanism

Behind Marxism is a philosophy of what man is and for what he exists. Behind Christianity is also a philosophy of man and his destiny. These two ideas of man are just as much at war as the opposed political or economic systems of the Soviet and of the Christian West.

Moreover, no dream of social order can be practicable unless it is based upon a clear and realistic understanding of what and why man is.

So crucial is this question of man that SOCIAL ORDER devoted an entire double-number (the May-June, 1953 issue) to an exposition of this pivotal question. Copies are still available.

The Contents:

CHRISTIAN HUMANISM FOR AMERICA	<i>The Editors</i>
THE SEARCH FOR THE NEW MAN	<i>H. A. Reinhold</i>
MARXIST AND SECULAR HUMANISM	<i>James Collins</i>
GOD AND CHRISTIAN HUMANISM	<i>Philip Donnelly</i>
SOCIAL HUMANISM	<i>Edward Duff</i>
AMERICA AND CHRISTIAN HUMANISM	<i>John LaFarge</i>
A NEW CHRISTIAN HUMANISM	<i>W. Norris Clarke</i>

96 pages • 80 cents

LAND REFORM IN LATIN AMERICA

ERNEST FEDER

SINCE THE END OF THE LAST WAR we have witnessed a world-wide development, the importance of which is perhaps not yet widely evident: a direct and growing concern in the economic and social well-being of rural people. The 19th century was characterized by the emancipation of the bourgeoisie, the 20th by the emancipation of the worker; it was, as Henry Wallace once said, the century of the little man. Through the last few decades, the little man, the worker has made great strides towards the improvement of his social and economic status through higher incomes and through progressive legislation which gives him security in his job and protection against illness and old age; this has happened not only in the Western world but to some extent even in the so-called underdeveloped countries.

But industrialization has never been kind to farm people in the West.¹ Until quite recently, those who live on the

land have been in the backwash of social and economic improvements. They have only now begun to participate—as a result of planned efforts to improve their status—in those social and economic advances benefiting urban people. In future years the second half of the 20th century may well be known as the “century of the little farmer.” Indeed, the increased, though belated, attention paid agriculture in the Western world has jumped the boundaries of the industrialized countries and is now being given to the underdeveloped areas of the world, including Latin America, where assistance to the rural population is long overdue. In that hemisphere the magnitude of agricultural poverty, illiteracy, maldistribution of resources and other inequities *together* with declining food supplies and stagnant industrialization have become an immense challenge to our ability to apply some of the lessons we believe we have learned from our own past.

Agrarian reform on the international scene—the most important stepping stone in agricultural development—has never before been brought so close to the American people as at this very mo-

¹ Rainer Schickele, “Die Agrarische Unruhe in der Welt,” Paper presented before the Evangelische Akademie, Loccum, February 24-27, 1960. Schickele points out that rural policies have always been inspired by urban-industrial experiences to the great disadvantage of agriculture, since the characteristics of farm production processes (which are very different from industrial production processes) have never been fully taken into account in the elaboration of farm policies.

The author is Associate Professor of Agricultural Economics at the University of Nebraska.

ment. Events which are now taking place less than 100 miles from our own shores bring into the public limelight a problem which has until now occupied only our social scientists and the technicians: the problem of the role which agriculture plays in the economic and social development of the less industrialized countries all over the world. The question was first raised by economists, sociologists and political scientists in connection with the priority which should be accorded the development of the various sectors of the underdeveloped economies. Should agricultural development precede or should it follow industrial development or should no priority whatever be given to either sector? Intimately allied to this question is that of structural changes in agriculture in feudal or semi-feudal economies which would permit agricultural development to take place. Today these problems are of concern to American citizens.

Cuba has given, to all appearances, a clear-cut answer at least to the first question (that of priority) as far as its economy is concerned. The Cuban revolution is a revolution not of the urban but of the rural population. The Cuban regime is continually holding up its agrarian reform as the pace-setter, as the heart of the revolution²; it is, moreover, quite proper to think of it in those terms in the light of the resources going into land reform and the apparent

source of the main political support of the present regime. Recent history is replete with examples of revolutionary movements, seeking agrarian reform, led by urban leaders and their urban supporters.³ But whether rural-led or urban-led, liberal Latin Americans tend to make agrarian reform not only a concomitant but also a prerequisite to economic development. In Latin America the cry for land reform comes primarily from the political left and its urban leaders. The "peons," in contrast to urban people, are poorly (if at all) organized for political or for any kind of action; urbanites, moreover, are usually more fully aware of the fact that rapid changes in an economy, dominated by feudal or semi-feudal landlords, are likely to occur only when the economic and political power of the landed classes, who are held responsible for rural and even urban poverty, is abolished. This awareness is, of course, fostered not only by the fact that agriculture in most Latin American nations forms an important part of the economy in terms of employment or output or both; it also derives from the fact that the financial and political interests of estate owners and of industrialists and businessmen are closely interwoven.⁴ Thus, Latin American agriculture can be defined as a distinct sector of the economy only in a very limited sense, a circumstance which al-

² See "A Visit to Castro's Cuba," by V. Meier, in the *Swiss Review of World Affairs*, October 1960, p. 7. See also I. Duarte Alfonso, "La Reforma Agraria Cubana," in *Revista Ganadera* (Cuba), who states that: "... la Reforma Agraria piedra angular de la aurora economica de un pueblo sub-desallorado . . . Los Cubanos estamos creando la generacion del bienestar . . . La Reforma Agraria va a elevar el ingreso per-cepita del obrero agricola cubano. Ella cambiara la estructura feudal de la agricultura rural bajo el imperio del latifundismo."

³ See the excellent paper by D. Felix, "Agrarian Reform and Industrial Growth in Underdeveloped Countries" (Unpublished, Wayne University, Detroit).

⁴ One interesting quotation is the following: "Owing to the economic and political structure of the country, land reform in Chile is difficult to carry out. Landholders who would be affected by any action of an economic, political, administrative, legal or social nature will vigorously oppose its implementation and their political and economic influence is very powerful." (*Progress in Land Reform*, U.N. document E/2526, ST/ECA/21, 1954, p. 292).

lows the conclusion that no matter at what end a land reform starts, it will prove difficult, if not impossible, to confine it either to the rural or the urban institutions, as the case may be—even when we deal with orderly, peaceful, evolutionary land reform.

How close the subject of agrarian reform has been brought home to us becomes evident in recent changes in our government's willingness to assist Latin Americans in abolishing economic and social inequities. In fact, the *New York Times* talked about an "historic change" in U.S. economic policies toward Latin America at the recent Bogota Conference on economic aid. It intimated that this historic change consisted in our coming around to attributing a high degree of priority to the problems of growth, development and backwardness of the southern hemisphere.

"Historic change"

There is no doubt some truth in this claim, but I think the historic changes consisted much more in 1. our recognition that U.S. public funds will have to play a larger role in Latin American development than was previously believed necessary and 2. in our realization that we have a direct, official interest in eliminating social inequities there. (I might add parenthetically, however, that neither the continued adherence to the principle of making financial assistance subject to Latin American self-help nor the amount of funds which Congress has promised to put at the disposal of Latin American nations to implement social reforms are impressive evidence of an historic change in our policy).

The Act of Bogota—a plan of inter-American assistance presented by a Special Committee to Study the Formulation of New Measures of Economic

Cooperation of the Council of OAS but inspired by the U.S. State Department—has given evident priority to agrarian reform by placing it on top of a list of measures of social improvement in Latin America; these include measures for housing, for education and public health, and for the "mobilization of domestic resources" (a general reference to the need for tax and other reforms).



The Act provides specifically for measures for the improvement of conditions of rural living and land use through:

1. An examination of existing legal and institutional systems with respect to

- a. land tenure legislation and facilities with a view to insuring a wider and more equitable distribution of the ownership of land, in a manner consistent with the objectives of employment, productivity and economic growth;

- b. agriculture credit institutions with a view to providing adequate financing to individual farmers or groups of farmers;

- c. tax systems and procedures and fiscal policies with a view to assuring equity of taxation and encouraging improved use of land, especially of privately owned land which is idle.

2. The initiation or acceleration of appropriate programs to modernize and improve the existing legal and institutional framework to insure better conditions of land tenure, extend more adequate credit facilities and provide in-

creased incentives in the land tax structure.

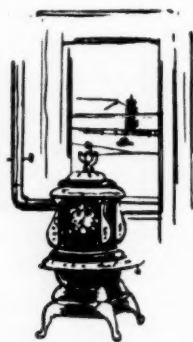
3. The acceleration of the preparation of projects and programs for

a. land reclamation and land settlement with a view to promoting more widespread ownership and efficient use of land, particularly of unutilized or under-utilized land;

b. the increase of the productivity of land already in use;

c. the construction of farm to market and access roads.

4. The adoption or acceleration of other government service programs designed particularly to assist the smaller farmer, such as new or improved marketing organizations, extension services, research and basic surveys and demonstration, education and training facilities.⁵



Agrarian reform has a distinctive character: its direct aim is to bring about changes in the socio-economic structure of agriculture. It is, of course, theoretically possible to raise output and incomes in agriculture simply by pouring more capital, labor and land into the productive processes without modifying purposefully the socio-economic structure of agriculture. This has probably been achieved to some extent in the United States where yearly increases

in output are being brought about to a large extent by the increased use of capital (and technology). But even in this country the achievements of higher output and incomes have been accompanied—if we take longer time periods into consideration—by significant modifications in the organization of agriculture. Obvious examples would be increases in average farm size, changes in the availability of credit or in the terms of credit, or in the markets for machinery and equipment. Thus, it is perhaps impossible, even conceptually, to draw a fine line of demarcation between progress with and progress without changes in structure. Such changes in structure as have occurred in the United States, it may be noted, have not always been the consequence of deliberate policies. The difference between an industrialized and an underdeveloped economy, however, lies in the fact that in the latter sharp increases in output or incomes cannot be brought about unless one first removes the massive obstacles inherent to the structural characteristics of their agricultures.

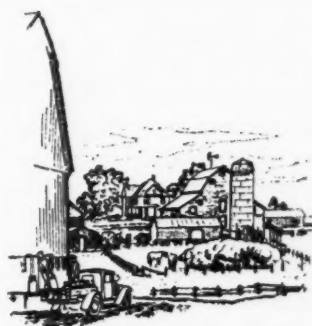
By changes in structure are meant specifically alterations in the pattern of relationships between man and land or between people engaged directly or indirectly in agricultural pursuits. Very often (if not always) this involves modifications of the power relations between people. In fact, one might say that one of the characteristics of "underdevelopment" is the lack of social, economic and legal balance; indeed, one can reduce the various defects in agricultural structure to a simple imbalance brought about by the overpowering economic and other strength of a few as against the non-existent or extremely weak bargaining power of the many. The lack of bargaining power of the many is evidenced by their lack of re-

⁵ *New York Times*, September 12, 1960.

sources—be it land, savings, machinery or other aid; their inability to have access to services and facilities; their lack of protection in the courts; the evident unfavorable treatment through law; their lack of education and physical stamina.

Land reform must be bent on remedying the lack of bargaining power of the many and on reducing that of the few. This is why land reforms must include a program for the redistribution of land where the existing distribution is highly unequal. (We are assuming here that a pattern of family farm ownership is the goal.) It must include the abolition of certain credit systems under which lenders have the right to charge rates of interest which outlaw savings by the borrower, making him a serf of the lender, and under which credit is severely rationed; it must include the creation of credit agencies which will grant loans at low rates and under variable terms of repayment; and it must include thoughtful legislation for the protection and the security of workers and tenants and others. If this is to be achieved, land reform must be planned on a broad scale by the government. I mention this specifically because there are schools of thought in this country and elsewhere clinging to the belief not only that perhaps "*Tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles*" or at least that conditions are not as bad as pictured by naive liberals; such an attitude further suggests that defects in agriculture, if they exist, will be remedied by the benevolent and unrelenting operation of the market, *i.e.* through the price system (regardless of whether it is a question of prices for commodities, for capital, land or labor). Such individuals believe that there is no need for tampering with the structure

as such through utopian land distribution schemes or soft-hearted, cheap interest rates, or tenancy legislation.



For example, one professor stated in a professional talk that "spectacular advances in the growth rate of economies like Chile will come, if at all, from improvement in the quality of the labor force and from an increased pace of technical advance." Another (Chilean) author said that "the agricultural problem in Chile is not a question of the distribution but of the improved management of land." And another professor argued in a seminar recently that education is the best, almost the major, tool for the economic development of underdeveloped countries. These arguments get at symptoms not basic causes of a problem which is indeed a fearfully unmanageable one. Low quality of labor, poor management of farms, lack of education are traceable directly to the faulty structure of rural society: large estate-owners (who incidentally have set for centuries an example of poor management of their *latifundios*) have no interest in improving either the quality of their workers or their education. I was told in Chile, for example, that in one specific instance a landlord forbade a schoolteacher to teach "anything serious" in the village school ly-

ing on his estate; as a result, she had to spend her days playing games with the children.

Land reform, moreover, must go beyond the narrow confines of rural society. The development of agriculture implies diversification and an expansion of commercial farming where the sale of produce outweighs sharply the production of produce for home consumption. Hence, markets and market facilities and all related services must be expanded and in most instances reorganized: the building of new roads, new warehouses, new terminal facilities and new retail outlets, information for farmers and wholesalers, etc. Wholesale facilities may have to be reorganized if they are dominated, as indeed they often are, by monopolists who exert an out-of-proportion influence on the production, pricing, distribution or consumption of major farm commodities. Thus, land reform is, even under the most ideal circumstances, a problem to be tackled by the government.

How urgent is land reform in Latin



America? This is not the place to bore you with detailed information on unequal land distribution, serfdom, lack of credit or unequal distribution of credit, rural poverty and insecurity of tenure. Let us assume at this point that in the major portion of the southern hemisphere fundamental changes are in

store for rural people. The UN's Food and Agricultural Organization concluded in 1954 that a review of progress by the various regions of the world suggested that the need for further progress is most evident in the countries of Latin America; two years later, it indicated that in Latin America only a few countries had reported far-reaching legislation on land reform. Our government has recognized the need recently and many of the more far-sighted owners of *latifundios* in Latin America concede now that an agrarian reform is overdue.⁶ Yet, it has perhaps not yet sufficiently "sunk in" that speed is of the essence. In an area of which one famous scientist said recently that there is a continent-wide slum in the making, of which Milton Eisenhower said (in a report on his Latin American travel) that it is a continental area in ferment and where, as Under Secretary Dillon said recently in Bogota, we face an hour of danger, any delay may prove to be fatal to our and our friends' political, economic, social and intellectual influence. Several years ago, Gunnar Myrdal pointed out that the populations of the less developed areas of the world are not content any more to wait for social and economic progress to trickle down from the advances brought about by increased industrialization; they demand these advances now. Their knowledge of the material and non-material gains achieved in the West (and now appearing in the East)—knowledge to which

⁶ In one Latin American nation, in which a bill for agricultural reform is being discussed by the lawmakers, a conservative farm group—the local counterpart of our Farm Bureau—issued a statement that it agreed that a reform had been "needed for decades" but that it was utterly opposed to expropriation which would reimburse farm owners through government bonds, the most unpopular of all government obligations . . .

we contribute daily through our movies, books or other exports—is a leaden weight on the conscience of their governments. The failure to bring about “planned and drastic changes in the entire community structure” which are necessary to prepare the way for economic development threatens, as Myrdal puts it, to create a world of chaos.

The dramatic question then arises whether we or the Latin American governments are now fully prepared to bring about, or to assist in bringing about, a land reform which will avoid that chaos of which the great Swedish economist spoke and which our own representative at Bogota sensed so correctly. Will we succeed in advocating reforms implemented through peaceful and democratic processes? In this country for many years, we have, and we have again in Bogota, proclaimed that Latin American nations must take the initiative if they wish to receive aid. (“... all would agree that loans from the special funds should only be made in association with projects, programs or other measures of self-help formulated and adopted by the Latin American countries themselves”.)

“Self-help”

They are, therefore, told in effect “no self-help, no help” or, as a witty colleague of mine said: “if they do what we want them to do, but they do it on their own, we will help them.” Perhaps the principle of self-help needs some overhauling. Perhaps it should be replaced by strong intellectual leadership, coupled with a recognition that we are in for much greater financial involvements than hitherto allowed. Reforms are expensive. Italy has appropriated \$1 billion to implement its land reform,

affecting only a very small portion of the agricultural land; Cuba estimates that the total costs of its land reform will amount to \$2.2 billion over a six-year period.

Two examples

On the other hand, the adoption or even the formulation of reforms (self-help) encounters great difficulties in Latin America. Two recent examples are indicative of these difficulties. One is the inability of the Chilean government to take stern action in the face of tremendous disaster, such as the recent earthquakes, a political weakness threatening to undermine the mild austerity program undertaken since 1959 by the conservative government to get the country out of its precarious financial situation. One would have suspected that the Chilean government would have resorted without hesitation to a policy of austere discipline and controls. Certainly, the disaster offered an excellent excuse for radical measures. Instead, reliance was placed on help from the United Nations, the United States and Europe. Several weeks after the quake, one of Chile's most sophisticated newspapers reported that life in the capital continued as usual. Recently, a Chilean friend of mine (no economist but an astute businessman) reported on the “strangeness” of the present economic status, with businessmen apparently satisfied but “with the people going hungry.”

The other example is the recent Common Market agreement concluded by the Treaty of Montevideo in February 1960 between eight southern Latin American nations. This agreement provides for the abolishing of tariffs and

quotas and other obstacles to trade between the Latin American nations signatories to the Treaty. Taken by itself, it is a remarkable political achievement and demonstrates the conviction of the nations themselves of the urgent need for fostering an expansion of their industries. But the Treaty makes no mention of social programs. In contrast the European Common Market agreement does provide for measures to improve the living and working conditions of the European labor force notwithstanding the fact that the European Common Market, too, is oriented primarily in the direction of industrial and business growth. Thus, Latin American leaders have not yet been able to see their way free to discuss these issues, even at that level which promises the greatest or perhaps the last opportunity for large-scale planning along democratic principles, that of international planning. In Europe, with its already high standards of living and extended measures for economic security, supported by a high productive potential, the postponement of considerations of social issues would never spell the difference between success and failure of the Common Market. In Latin America, however, the Common Market must stand or fall with the contribution it can make, or is believed to be able to make to a rapid improvement of the economic and social structure.

It is for these compelling reasons that the time for half-baked, half-hearted measures has passed and that we must show, by words, by deeds and by positive leadership that we are the friends of the "little farmer" and that we are supporting the expansion of the principles of democracy from the political to the economic arena.

Buenos Aires—The coordinating body of the Catholic Church in Latin America has moved to the forefront of the movement for agrarian reform.

Echoing the calls made by the hierarchies of several South American countries in recent years, the Latin American Bishops' Council (CELAM) made a "solemn appeal" to the governments and peoples of the area to provide farmers with "easy access to farm ownership within the standards of justice."

The Bishops took their stand in a formal statement issued at the close of their annual meeting. The session was held here in conjunction with the Inter-American Marian Congress, which itself closed with a declaration by Antonio Cardinal Caggiano, Archbishop of Buenos Aires, that "housing is urgent for workers and land as the property of the farming family is also urgent."

The CELAM statement declared: "This Bishops' Council is particularly concerned with the problems of housing and agriculture, thus it makes a solemn appeal to the leaders and the faithful to take those measures that will make available to everyone a decent home in which family life may proceed properly, and provide farmers with easy access to farm ownership within the standards of justice."—N. C. W. C. news report, December 4, 1960.

For library . . .
office . . .
or study

Keep SOCIAL ORDER permanently so as to have its accumulation of social thought at your elbow for handy reference. At only \$6.00 each, you may order bound volumes for 1951-through-1960, each done attractively in black library buckram in a L.B.I. class A binding, stamped in gold.

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ORDER
3908 Westminster Pl. St. Louis, 8

REALISM vs. IDEALISM

William V. O'Brien •

Professor O'Brien is Chairman of the Institute of World Polity at Georgetown University.

IN RECENT YEARS we have witnessed a revival of interest in the relation between ethics and foreign policy. Attempts have been made to bridge the gap between the ideal goals set by ethics and the realities of power politics. But the question has been raised whether there is, in any meaningful sense, an ethic appropriate to international relations. The Realists—Morgenthau, Kennan *et al.*—have sharply questioned the relevance of traditional ethical goals to the practical business of international politics. These Realists among experts on international relations have been joined by other "Realists" from the ranks of Protestant intellectuals such as Reinhold Niebuhr and Ernest Lefever. The result has been a vigorous discussion of the neglected field of international ethics. The two books reviewed here offer critiques of the progress of this Realist school of thought.¹

It is in a way, however, unfair to compare these two books, even though they are directed to roughly the same subject matter. Kenneth Thompson has been intimately connected with the

Realists, both in the fields of international relations and among the Protestant scholars working on international ethics. He himself is a Realist and his book (the latest of several on this subject) is written from the vantage point of an insider. Sister Dorothy Jane's book, on the other hand, grows out of a Ph.D. thesis. Presumably it represents only the beginning of her writing on the subject. She herself is on the outside looking in. But, what is more important, I think, she is writing as a representative of the Catholic intellectual community and there is considerable evidence that that *whole community* has been substantially on the outside looking in on the debate on ethics and foreign policy. This is not to say that the predominantly Protestant Realist analysis of the subject should not be subjected to scrutiny in the light of traditional Catholic doctrine. But it does mean that the first Catholics to undertake this task are at a disadvantage as they venture into a debate which is already well advanced.

Sister Dorothy Jane raises the question of Realism vs. Idealism with the question:

Is national self-interest to be sought irrespective of the welfare of other countries? Are nations bound by the moral law to meet the demands of justice and charity in the international community? Can one really understand more than the

¹ *AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, REALISTS AND IDEALISTS: A Catholic Interpretation.* Sister Dorothy Jane Van Hoogstrate, B. Herder, St. Louis and London, 332 pp. \$6.25.
POLITICAL REALISM AND THE CRISIS OF WORLD POLITICS. Kenneth W. Thompson, Princeton University Press, 261 pp. \$5

national good? Is material power the primary element in politics?

She recognizes that "the answer to these queries will be governed by philosophical considerations of the nature of man, the effects of original sin, the dictates of natural law, the purpose and origin of the state, sovereignty and the international community, the components of peace, etc." Her plan is to survey Realist thought on these questions, then contemporary international Idealist thought, and, finally, to outline the relevant traditional Catholic doctrine. She rightly emphasizes that the task is not an easy one: "Because the writers do not define the objective basis of moral law or man's method of arriving at knowledge of it . . ." Hence, "it remains doubtful in the debate whether they are on common ground."

There follows a summary of the theories of such Realists as Niebuhr, Beard, Kennan and Morgenthau and Idealists such as Osgood, Lippmann, Perkins, C. B. Marshall, Elliott and Tannenbaum. Sister Dorothy Jane emphasizes the pessimism of Realism, its critical attitude towards U.S. diplomatic history and its tendency to believe that mitigation of power politics is almost exclusively a matter of balance of power.

Pessimism of realism

She says that Idealism, "when used with regard to statesmen and to political theory in international relations, denotes the concern for moral values which transcend a nation's selfish interests." However, there can be a great variety of positions reflecting a "concern for moral values which transcend the nation's selfish interests" and the reader is left with the impression that Idealist thought today is less coherent

and penetrating than Realist thought on international relations.

The exposition of the Catholic approach to the subject follows familiar lines, from a view of human nature, through the theory of the state, to the Church's teaching on international society. The need for international law and organization is, of course, heavily emphasized. All of this leaves a considerable gap between the subject matter of the summary of the debate between Realism and Idealism and the subject matter of Catholic doctrine on international law and order. The former is mainly concerned with proximate goals and, above all, with the relevance of ethics to the dynamics of the political process. Catholic thought as reviewed by Sister Dorothy Jane has been primarily directed to ultimate goals with comparatively little guidance being offered with respect to the means of attaining them. Granted that Christians must work for the goals of international law and order, what ethical principles govern the legitimate pursuit of national interests? What ethical principles govern the efforts of states to realize and to protect the goals of the international common good? Although Sister Dorothy Jane attempts to apply the traditional doctrine to such contemporary problems as colonialism, international trade, intervention, war and disarmament, it must be admitted that the results are not impressive. This, of course, is almost inevitable, given the lack of development of a really informed modern international ethic by Catholic scholars. (There have, of course, been exceptions. But the better Catholic thinking on modern problems of international ethics has generally been focused on one particular problem area, e.g. Fr. Murray's excellent work

on morality and modern warfare, rather than on a comprehensive theory of the relation of ethics to international politics in general.)

In her last chapter Sister Dorothy Jane analyzes the theories which she has surveyed. Had this aspect of her work been emphasized and that of reporting curtailed she would have given us a more valuable book. Her analysis, which would obviously be challenged on a number of points by some of the Realists, reveals the following differences between Catholic Thought and Realism:

1. "Thomistic philosophy opposes the nominalism of Realists"

2. Catholic thought "contests the definition of Realism in the debate, for spirit as well as matter constitutes reality"

3. "Catholic thought challenges the pessimism of the Realists about the effects of original sin upon man and political society. It derogates power and force as the primary elements of the state; it criticizes the implication that the state's end is absolute, or that it is based upon individual self-interest, or that there is natural opposition between the individual and the political community"

4. "Catholic philosophy recognizes the claims of universal justice based upon the essential needs of human nature . . . [it] differs from . . . the Realists who hold international society to be an arbitrary product of the will of men, and international law to be a body of rules without foundation in the Natural Law."

5. "In contrast to 'Political Realism' Catholic thought would condemn expediency and opportunism as a basis of foreign policy—what is morally bad cannot be politically and economically good"

Catholic thought, however, does not agree entirely with the Idealists either.

1. It rejects the Rousseauist presumption that "proper institutions . . . alone will bring peace to the world."

2. "It differs from the stand of the humanitarians who believe that an earthly millenium is the goal of history, and that man's reason has the unlimited ability to attain the true and the good by its own powers"

3. It rejects the "idolatry of popular sovereignty, and adherence to specious theories of contractualism."

4. It "would not agree with those Idealists who seem to stigmatize power and force as evils even when they are used with moral responsibility."

5. It "takes exception to the Idealists who reduce peace solely to a technological and economic operations"

Sister Dorothy Jane concludes that:

. . . Catholic thought acknowledges the validity of national interest, but it insists that this be related to the whole international fabric of which it is a part, and to which it must be made compatible. Consciousness of international social obligations, in themselves antecedent to any law or contract, is developing slowly but definitely in this mid-twentieth century If this progress continues to be realized in international affairs, the vogue of "Political Realism" may be supplanted as the result of a more informed conscience.

Far from looking upon Political Realism as a "vogue" to be "supplanted," Dr. Thompson presents his book on the subject as a "primer or introduction to the main currents of a single challenging approach to the perplexing issues of contemporary foreign policy." He hopes that "younger scholars in particular might draw from the broad outlines and unsolved problems of this approach an agenda for vigorous reflection and research." Moreover, Thompson insists

that the Realist approach is not in any sense one of unfettered national egoism. It is an *ethical* approach of men whose "concern with the moral dilemmas of modern life has driven them to attempt to establish a philosophy of international relations. Each of them has tried to be positive while avoiding naïveté, moral though shunning moralism, and systematic without excluding the ambiguities and uncertainties of international life."

Four prerequisites

Thompson sees four prerequisites to an understanding of the ethical problems of international relations. Two of them coincide with Sister Dorothy Jane's basic assumptions. Thompson says that "an understanding of political phenomena . . . is inseparable from a clear picture of human nature." Second, he believes that one must have an objective view of human progress; his criticism of the excessive optimism of the Idealists in this regard is in substantial agreement with that of Sister Dorothy Jane. But, from here on, there is a divergence in approaches. Where Sister Dorothy Jane turns to metaphysics and rational ethics, Thompson looks to two qualities which are comparatively lacking in her presentation of the Catholic doctrine: "a lively sense of history" and a "workable concept of politics." This would seem to be symptomatic of the unfortunate rift between much of our doctrine and the problems of our modern world.

In a chapter on "The Limits of Principle in International Politics," Thompson comes to grips with some of the difficulties of the statesman seeking to realize the goals of international ethics. In general, Thompson says, "No problem on the agenda of America's relations with the rest of the world is more

bewildering, compelling, and ultimately decisive than the moral evaluation of foreign policy." Some of the reasons for this are:

1. "Only in pure thought can actions and policies remain uncorrupted and undefiled by at least some margin of injustice This universal aspect of the corruption of absolute justice within the realm of politics finds its outstanding expression in international politics. There my nation's justice can mean your nation's injustice, my nation's security and its requirements can appear as the cause of your nation's insecurity."

2. As a result, "the moralist maintains that at present men pursue a double standard of conduct in their private and public lives."

3. The tendency of nations is to assume that good (*i.e.* their) ends justify any means, even "bad" means if necessary. "Since nations in the present anarchic world society tend to be repositories of their own morality, the end-means formula has prevailed as an answer to the moral dilemma, for undeniably it is a concealed but essential truth that nations tend to be repositories of their own morality."

4. Nevertheless, Thompson says:

. . . it inheres in the nature of man and politics that statesmen and nations never wholly escape the judgment of elementary ethical standards. The history of politics discloses that no people have completely divorced politics from ethics; that, however grudgingly, they have come to see that men were required to conform to standards more objective than those of success. Neither moralism nor cynicism has the intellectual resources for illuminating these vital issues. Fortunately we are free to turn to other contemporary alternatives.

Thompson finds alternatives in the writings of Herbert Butterfield, a Cambridge historian, Charles De Visscher,

a former Judge of the International Court and a highly respected writer on international law, Hans Morgenthau and Reinhold Niebuhr. Following his analysis of their contributions Thompson says:

The insights and the wisdom of the four observers stand out most clearly against the background of four persistent problems or limitations lying at the roots of most of our modern confusion and uncertainty regarding principle and necessity.

These are:

1. The "perennial tendency of states to see their national purposes as universal principles and ends."

2. The resulting fact that international conflict today is waged "between giant organized systems of self-righteousness."

3. The unresolved problem of "collective morality;" how resolve the problem implicit in the words of Cavour: "If we had done for ourselves what we did for the state, what scoundrels we would have been."

4. "A fourth limitation derives from the proposition that there are few if any absolutes in international politics."

The line of solution suggested by Thompson under the heading "Necessity and the New Balance of Power," is not unrelated to the internal logic of *Federalist* No. 10. He says:

Injustice threatens most whenever great weakness is confronted by unlimited power. Perhaps this is why victorious nations wreak vengeance on conquered foes. This tendency has been allayed by the rise of competing centers of power, and out of the claims and counterclaims of a number of countries for influence and respect a rough and approximate justice may result. The ability of the smaller powers ultimately to use nuclear forces theoretically might exert the same decisive effect on all use of force that now prevails in Soviet and American calculations *vis-à-vis* one another. Necessity

might compel them to turn to the peaceful pursuit of their goals.

Following Beard's idea that there are three spheres of international morality, Thompson suggests that there may be "three possible layers or dimensions of international morality." The core of this threefold concept is found in the moral content of the national interest. The second layer is that of evaluating objectively the interests of one's neighbor, for: "There is no other basis for true coexistence." "A final or third layer of international morality comprises general principles like opposition to tyranny, or community, or values embodied in the United Nations Charter." Thompson says:

However limited and particular, acts of political expedience must seem to carry forward aims of justice and the common good. Thus political morality in these modest terms forces the statesman who would justify expediency with ethics to choose his measures so that on some points at least the practical and moral march hand in hand.

Certainly this is a "modest" dimension of international morality and its limited character stands in stark contrast to the implacable norms of traditional Catholic international ethics as expounded by Sister Dorothy Jane.

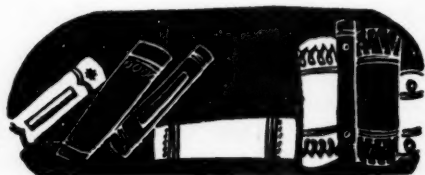
Reading these two books together, one is made acutely aware that the first prerequisite for a fruitful dialogue between Catholic internationalists and the Realists is the realization by Catholics that these differing approaches to international ethics should not be depicted in terms of an ethical approach versus an amoral approach. These are two *different* ethical approaches. Certainly there are profound philosophical and theological differences between them, some of which are permanent. But there is obviously a very great area within which mutually profitable collaboration

should be possible. Surely, it is evident that the traditional Catholic doctrine, while basically sound, is in skeleton form and badly needs some meat on its bones. And, unquestionably, the Realists have a good deal of meat to offer.

Sister Dorothy Jane has done us all a service. She has presented us with a summary of our traditional doctrine as an alternative to the extremes of Realism and Idealism. But it is clear that our existing formulations do not reach down into the great arena of international politics in which the Realists

have been laboring. It will be remembered that one of the theorists singled out for commendation by Dr. Thompson was the jurist Charles De Visscher who, in his *Theory and Reality In Public International Law*, reaffirmed the validity and relevance of the natural law approach while at the same time incorporating Realist techniques into his work. It is evident that what we need now is some more De Visschers. Sister Dorothy Jane has raised the challenge, one which American Catholic scholarship cannot ignore.

Books



POLITICAL THOUGHT: *Men and Ideas*.

By John A. Abbo, The Newman Press, 452 pp. \$5.75

In a time when it is popular to pillory textbooks, Monsignor Abbo's history of political theory is a welcome example of a text for the somewhat limited number of courses in this field. On all the personages and movements of political history his book does more than supply information. Its select and up-to-date bibliographies and its bibliographical footnotes should easily encourage teachers and students to engage in the personal self-study that a good text should stimulate.

Particularly deserving of commendation is the structure of the book. For each distinctive historical period there is a thoughtful survey of men and movements. Then follows a detailed study of selected and key figures. In these studies the men stand forth as individuals in their full intellectual and social context.

In a few instances toward the latter part of the work, Monsignor Abbo has enlisted

expert assistance. Thus, his account of Fascism is his own translation of an important Italian study. Miss Anne Freemantle has done the article on Fabian Socialism. Perhaps less satisfactory is the inclusion of a contributed article on American Political Thought. Its author seems to feel an urge to have scholastic authority as a verbal necessity. For his own part, Monsignor Abbo had been able to make use of Catholic ideas in his own extended sections without pointing out how Catholic and scholastic he is. A contributed section on the influence of third parties is an interesting *tour de force* but not too illuminating or pertinent in this brief history of American political theory.

Our Catholic colleges and graduate schools where this subject matter is taught would do well to adopt Monsignor Abbo's book as a text or for constant collateral study.

JAMES L. BURKE, S.J.
Jesuit Educational Association
Boston, Mass.

PREMARITAL SEXUAL STANDARDS IN AMERICA. By Ira L. Reiss. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 286 pp. \$4.95

Although an increasing amount of information on premarital sexual behavior is being accumulated, little attention has been paid to shifts in premarital sexual standards. On the basis of his own research and from indications in other studies, the author suggests that not only behavioral patterns but standards have changed considerably in recent years. Four basic premarital sexual standards are studied: abstinence, permissiveness with affection, permissiveness without affection, and the double standard. Available information indicates a relatively rapid shift from abstinence toward permissiveness with affection. An attempt is made to uncover the factors that have contributed to this shift and to evaluate the consequences of adhering to any one of the different standards under contemporary social conditions.

This study accomplishes its chief purpose of opening up a significant field for future research. There is little doubt that premarital sexual behavior has shifted toward greater permissiveness. In attempting to evaluate the consequences of this change, both short and long range, as well as its personal and social effects, must be considered. This implies a wider frame of reference than the author has employed, though he has done well to call attention to the central problem.

Considering the general availability of reliable historical sources, readers will be surprised by the unscholarly and strangely biased treatment accorded the early Christian influence on sex. Although incidental to the major aim of the book, this brief section betrays a lack of critical acumen that is difficult to explain.

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD OF OUR TIME: U.S. Diplomacy In The Twentieth Century. By Jules Davids. Random House, New York. 597 pp. \$7.50

Professor Davids has, within the limitations of a single-volume study, presented a concise and meaningful account of American diplomacy in the 20th century in a

manner that will appeal both to student and professional scholar. He opens with the ascendancy of Roosevelt, passes rather quickly through the First World War and its aftermath to Pearl Harbor, then centers his attention on the difficult years which have largely shaped our present global structure, bringing his study to a close with the Khrushchev visit in late 1959. Appended is a handy chronology which conveniently lists the major events of the period covered. Bibliographical references and other suggested readings are also included.

Any selection from so vast an array of materials will lead to some lack of emphasis; Professor Davids' brief summation of America's position in a changing world has not escaped this limitation. Though his preface apology did justify the exclusion of topics which "did not fit into the book's structure," it would seem that the most important task was to meet the book's title: *America and The World of Our Time*.

The book has, however, far too much of value to allow any slight disagreement to obfuscate the merit of Mr. Davids' work. He forthrightly contends that, while America cannot afford to ignore its own military strength, "it is evident that the Soviet challenge will have to be met by other than military means." There is also an implicit reference to that strange characteristic of the American people: the Pearl Harbor type of reflex to world situations, in the absence of which we are not able to apply ourselves to the problems of international politics.

Conceding that many present day problems are rooted "in the heritage left by World War II," the author considers of greatest immediacy those problems relating to Berlin, disarmament, and the recognition of Red China. In regard to Berlin, he seems to recognize some worth in George Kennan's disengagement suggestions, stating that "disengagement might be a seriously damaging political blow to the Soviet Union."

Davids rejects what he calls a "bull-in-a-china-shop approach" to the problem of peaceful coexistence, maintaining that it simply will not work. This approach suggests that the U.S. must outdo everything the Soviets do; it is really another manifestation of the Pearl Harbor psychology: to shoot from the hip when challenged,

then slip noisily back into a woolly state of internationalist lethargy at the slightest hint of peaceful overtures.

The challenge to America presented in this book represents an element seeking formulation for a national purpose in American culture. The choice between economic isolation and international capitalism is fundamental in this regard and will ultimately reflect the sincerity and integrity of whatever we propose to call our "national purpose." Professor Davids concludes that a decision for positive international cooperation is necessary for America in this 20th century. It will remain for history to record the national response.

ANTHONY J. IEZZI, S.J.
Fusz Memorial
Saint Louis University

THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY APOSTOLATE: Proceedings of the Seventh Catholic Social Life Conference, 1959. Social Action Department, Canadian Catholic Conference, Ottawa, Ont., 188 pp. \$2

Conference Proceedings tend to be uneven and are frequently repetitious. The major addresses in this collection suffer from none of these shortcomings. Covering various aspects of the roles of home, school, and Church in the family apostolate, they constitute a worthwhile, positive contribution to Catholic thought. Besides the main addresses given at the Conference and the questions raised during group discussions, this volume contains the full text of the 1959 Statement of the Canadian Bishops on "The Family in Canada," and the Apostolic Delegate's address on "The State, Guardian of the Family."

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS IN MODERN SOCIETIES. By Talcott Parsons. Free Press, Glencoe, Ill. v, 344 pp. \$6

The present collection of essays, written during the past five years, confirms Don Martindale's evaluation of Parsons' growth from social behaviorism to macrofunctionalism, an evaluation seconded by Robert Dubin and confirmed by Parsons himself in a recent issue of the *American Sociological Review*. The socio-psychological elements so prevalent in his earlier works have been

replaced by socio-structural units and the social system is analyzed primarily in terms of its five functional problems, viz., adaptation, goal attainment, integration, pattern maintenance and tension management. Whether this shift implies a denial of his earlier position as Dubin maintains, or is simply a logical development as Parsons himself insists, is still a debatable issue. Nevertheless, in the present essays the shift in orientation is obvious.

Parsons is now preoccupied with the interpenetration of social structures and the processes involved. His primary focus is that of the total society considered as a concrete social system which is not of necessity empirically integrated but whose problems can be analyzed only with the help of a conceptual scheme which exists. The task Parsons sets for himself is precisely the creation of such an integrated theoretical model.

Among the many insights furnished by this approach is a particularly stimulating theory of organization based upon an extension of economic output-input analysis. Organizations are considered as structures primarily concerned with the societal functional requisite of goal attainment. This postulate leads to the formulation of theorems most interesting for the study of bureaucracies. However, the apparent neglect of the actors' intentions which are not necessarily identical with the goals of the organization and which can influence the structure is a serious defect. It must be remedied if the model is to realize its full potentialities. If Parsons is able to integrate his early orientation with his present theoretical concerns, the problem may well be resolved. In the meantime it is necessary to keep it in mind.

Another discussion of importance is Parsons' differentiation between various levels in the hierarchy of control and responsibility. His main thesis posits a qualitative as well as a quantitative break between the technical, managerial and institutional subsystems in an organization, or in society for that matter. This furnishes new insight into the nature of bureaucracy, authority and responsibility. He shows quite convincingly that the latter can not be simply delegated. In areas of technical competence

authority becomes a veto power and is not a capacity to implement. The implications for the theory and the classification of bureaucracies are enormous but their usefulness is subject to a more detailed integration between the analytical level of functional subsystems and the more concrete structural subsystems.

Whereas the macrofunctional approach is most useful in the analysis of the economic and political substructures, it breaks down somewhat in Parsons' treatment of religion. This may be due to his limiting religion to the regulation of the balance of an individual's motivational commitment to the values of society and to his role in it as compared to his ultimate destiny. The transcendental nature of religion is neglected. Though this is not of itself the proper concern of sociology, it can affect social structure. Parsons, it is true, would not deny this and would perhaps insist that it is included in his definition, but the fact remains that greater attention to this transcendental nature's impact upon structure could correct the limitations of a functional approach which deals only with derivative elements.

Two common criticisms usually levelled at Parsons center upon his alleged obscurity and the lack of empirical reference in his theory. In the present work a serious attempt is made to remedy both defects. The text is readable and understandable. There remains a need for more precise and consistent definition of concepts. For example, his use of the term "institution" sometimes refers to generalized patterns of norms and sometimes to clusters of roles. Are roles equated with norms or are roles more specific incarnations of norms, or what? Also, he attempts to apply his theoretical scheme to problems of empirical generalization. In this he is less successful unless one remains content with illustration. However, his theory has been sufficiently refined that much of it is capable of specification and empirical verification. For this reason the book is highly recommended, not only to the theoretician, but to the researcher who is (and he should be) the least bit theoretically oriented.

RAYMOND H. POTVIN
The Catholic University
Washington, D. C.

MODERN SCIENCE AND THE HUMAN FERTILITY PROBLEM. By Richard L. Meier, Wiley, New York, 263 pp., \$5.95

With population problems so much in the fore, it is tempting to speculate about possible methods of control and their consequences. Although somewhat more optimistic of an immediate breakthrough in fertility control than current developments would seem to justify, the author discusses the characteristics of the most promising approaches to control, the possible costs, spread, acceptance, and long term consequences of oral contraceptives, and some of the relationships between economic development and population growth.

The result is a challenging, imaginative, even partially utopian treatise, raising interesting questions about possible new developments in science and the problems related to their use. Unfortunately we know far too little about the factors involved in economic development, cultural change, and social and personal disorganization to advance beyond the stage of highly speculative formulations.

SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAMS, PROBLEMS, AND POLICIES. By William Haber and Wilbur Cohen. Irwin, Homewood, Ill., xv, 606 pp. \$8.75

This is a collection of readings to complement the authors' previous collection, *Readings in Social Security*, published in 1948. In the current book, most of the selections are drawn from the last five years.

The bulk of the selections—about two thirds—are grouped under specific social security programs: Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance, Unemployment Insurance, Medical Insurance, and "Related Social Security Programs" (this last section contains the few items that refer to the social assistance programs).

The other third of the selections are general in scope and deal either with the "philosophy" or the historical developments of the social security system.

This collection performs very well the usual function of a book of readings: it makes available in convenient form a large number of valuable but scattered items and constitutes an excellent companion volume to a textbook like Eveline Burns' *Social*

Security and Public Policy. It is addressed and will be useful to "students, teachers, legislators, personnel officers, management and union officials, and many of the 100,000 persons engaged in the administration of social security."

The selections, which emphasize the "insurance" rather than the "assistance" programs of the social security system, present examples of opposing views and, although the resulting emphasis is more liberal than conservative, this reflects the actual emphasis among writers on social security. Each section is followed by a good bibliography and by objectively phrased discussion questions that go to the heart of the main issues.

JOSEPH M. BECKER, S.J.

HUSBANDS AND WIVES, *The Dynamics of Married Living*. By Robert O. Blood, Jr. and Donald M. Wolfe. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill. 293 pp. \$5

As the authors remark in the *Preface*, we know surprisingly little about how ordinary husbands and wives get along with each other. Based on interviews with wives drawn from a cross section sample of metropolitan Detroit and a representative sample of farm families (731 city families and 178 farm families), this study investigates family decision-making, division of labor, economic functions, having children, companionship, understanding and emotional well-being and love.

Although a considerable variety of interactional patterns were reported by the wives, the over-all picture that emerges is one of relative satisfaction and contentment. Perhaps this finding is not as surprising as may first appear. Modern couples are not restrained by the "dead hand" of custom or tradition from making rational adjustments to their peculiar situations. At the same time, and one must keep this constantly in mind when studying this report, couples who fail to adjust tend to divorce rather quickly in our society; they do not appear in consequence in the sample interviewed. In other words, we may conclude on the basis of this study that with the widespread acceptance of divorce, couples who remain married apparently have the capacity to work out relatively satisfactory adjustments to their situation; the remainder are eliminated through divorce.

The authors are to be commended for the interesting and balanced presentation of their findings. This wife's-eye view of marital interaction patterns does not reveal the whole picture but it gives us a good deal of information on who does what to whom inside the family front.

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.

THE FAMILY AND POPULATION CONTROL. *A Puerto Rican Experiment in Social Change*. By Reuben Hill, J. May-one Stycos, and Kurt W. Back. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill. 481 pp., \$8

Only our affluent do-gooders appear to remain unaware that the promotion of widespread fertility control among the lower socio-economic classes in densely populated countries involves more than handing out contraceptives to the ethically uninhibited. The present important study throws considerable light on the complex factors facilitating or inhibiting effective use of contraceptives among lower-class Puerto Rican families. Briefly, the claim is made that these families do not practice birth control effectively, primarily because they lack adequate incentives and motivation. Although it would seem to follow that adequate fertility control could be promoted only if the social system were modified to provide the opportunities for advancement that would make such long range planning personally significant, the writers failed to draw this conclusion, advocating instead further public instructions on contraceptive techniques and the value of small families.

DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK, 1959. United Nations, New York. 719 pp. \$8

The United Nations *Yearbook* is now the recognized central international source of world demographic statistics. Following the plan of treating a special topic each year, this eleventh volume of the series features world natality statistics. Important new data include: live births by sex, illegitimate birth ratio, illegitimacy rates, legitimate birth rates specific for age of father and for the duration of marriage, legitimate foetal deaths

by age of mother and legitimate foetal death ratios specific for age of mother. A helpful innovation in this year's text is the use of italic type to distinguish data of questionable reliability from those considered reliable. Obviously, the *Yearbook* is indispensable for teachers and students of demography.

BRASS-KNUCKLE CRUSADE. By Carleton Beals. Hastings House, New York. viii, 312 pp. \$5.95

The Know-Nothing movement or "conspiracy" has been a favorite topic for those interested in the development of American politics or in the history of bigotry. There have been a number of learned treatments, one of the best being Billington's *Protestant Crusade*; detailed studies of the activity in certain areas were made by a number of scholars at Catholic University under the direction of Doctor Purcell. The classic publication of the times, Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures*, is still in print and still forms the basis of most anti-Catholic diatribes. *Brass-Knuckles Crusade*, a volume in the American Procession Series, seems to be an attempt to combine journealese with scholarship. Catchy chapter headings, clever sentence structure and vivid writing make the whole very readable. And it is all made easier by the complete lack of documentation. While Mr. Beals evidences a good understanding and a great deal of knowledge, there are times when a footnote would seem very much called for.

The period covered begins in 1820 and ends in 1860. This is a captivating era in American politics, one making modern political machines look like old ladies' sewing bees. A study of the conduct of elections during much of that time makes the survival of the American democratic form of government seem an amazing miracle. Through it all, the most fascinating thread is the story of the rise of the American Irish, at the time of the Know-Nothing Movement the most despised and persecuted group in the United States. From persecution to presidency in 100 years might be a good title to a sequel to the present book.

E. R. VOLLMAR, S.J.
Saint Louis University
Saint Louis, Mo.

MAN AND THE SACRED. By Roger Caillois, translated by Meyer Barash. Free Press, Glencoe, Ill. 190 pp. \$4.50

This series of essays on the nature of the sacred is not so much a routine scientific work as it is an excursion into insights and erudition on the part of the famous author. It reads very much more like literature than research, but contains interesting insights into the problems of taboo, the festival, life and death, and sexual purification. There is considerable depth in the treatment of play and the sacred, and war and the sacred.

ALLEN SPITZER
Saint Louis University

CHRISTIAN FAMILY FINANCE. By William J. Whalen. Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 157 pp. \$2.95

Balancing the family budget presents a perennial challenge even—or perhaps, especially—in our society of abundance. Many couples raised in middle-class affluence are little prepared either by training or aspiration to spend wisely. Catholic spouses in particular are likely to experience this problem, for the sincere fulfillment of the purposes of marriage entails serious financial obligations and a faithful observance of the moral law considerably limits their choice of acceptable alternatives.

The present work aims to serve as a comprehensive financial guide for Christian families whose annual income falls within the \$5-12,000 income bracket. In an entertaining, straightforward, common-sense fashion it deals with all the major areas of family finance, offering both general information and detailed advice. Engaged couples and newlyweds, as well as teachers and counselors, will profit by the balanced, practical guidance it offers. Inasmuch as many couples are apparently unaware of the numerous sources of sound information available at present, it would have been helpful if a list of such reliable sources had been added by way of an appendix. At any rate, this work covers the essential points and should stimulate serious couples to even further study.

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.

YEARBOOK OF AMERICAN CHURCHES.

Edited by Benson Y. Landis. National Council of Churches, New York. v, 314 pp. \$5.95

This is the 29th issue of the standard reference work containing reported information on religious bodies, their histories, recent trends in membership and other related matters. The material included was gathered from officials of these religious bodies and relates to American religious groups of all faiths, Roman Catholic and Jewish as well as Protestant, 260 groups in all.

Whether you need names and addresses of church personnel, a roster of religious organizations and their officers, or comparative figures on religious groups, you will find all the information and much more in this well-organized, skillfully indexed volume.

AMERICAN MARRIAGE: A Way of Life.

By Ruth Shonle Cavan. Thomas Y. Crowell, New York, 498 pp. \$6.95

The appearance of another marriage text suggests the growing importance of marriage preparation courses in contemporary college curriculums. Following the family cycle approach, this text deals with remote preparation, dating and courtship, husband-wife relationships, and life in the family. The treatment throughout is balanced, practical, and relatively comprehensive, with strong emphasis on the positive. Although Catholic teachers and students would naturally require more adequate treatment of the formal religious aspects of marriage, the significance of religion is not ignored. This is an excellent text and will hold its own in a field currently characterized by sharp competition.

Letters

A fair share for every child

In the opening weeks of the new Congress, the advocates of federal aid to education will attempt to pass legislation calling for federal grants for construction and teachers' salaries but *only* for the benefit of those children who attend elementary and secondary public schools.

Such legislation disregards the nation's guarantee of equal protection of the laws by making no provision for the 6,800,000 young citizens who prefer private education, and, in violation of the religious freedom guaranteed by the Constitution, penalizes those parents who through moral obligation provide God-centred education for their children.

In justifying their position some proponents of this legislation give the impression that they are concerned only with *particular* emergencies in the construction of classrooms, but there is enough evidence to conclude that many regard this as a "foot in the door" technique leading to a massive general aid bill.

We note also that the advocates of federal aid in this area have persistently refused to explore the possibilities of legisla-

tion based on the method used in the G.I. Bill of Rights.

In addition, they are open to a serious charge of inconsistency. How can they explain why they favor loans and grants for students enrolled in Southern Methodist University, the Union Theological Seminary, and Notre Dame University, and yet have nothing to offer those citizens who attend Calvin Christian School, Luther High School, and St. Patrick Academy?

This educational discrimination is seen in its true gravity through the eyes of competent observers who maintain that a massive program of federal aid exclusively to the public schools will endanger, if not destroy, the opportunity of millions of parents to provide God-centred education for their children.

Those who believe in justice and equality for all children should remain alert to this problem and should write to their Congressman and Senators to inform them of their opposition to discriminatory legislation.

FRANCIS J. BROWN, Ph.D.

Professor of Economics
DePaul University
Chicago, Ill.

**For library...
office...
or study**

Keep SOCIAL ORDER permanently so as to have its accumulation of social thought at your elbow for handy reference. At only \$6. each, you may order bound volumes of 1951 through 1960, all done attractively in black library buckram in a L.B.I. class A binding, stamped in gold.

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ORDER

3908 Westminster Place

Saint Louis 8, Missouri



DISCERNING readers

in 49 foreign countries

and in all states pick

SOCIAL ORDER for the best

in current social thought:

"a remarkable journal

making

a distinctive contribution."

Keep up with SOCIAL ORDER!

Renew today—subscribe now

for yourself or friends—

\$4 a year, \$7 for 2 years,

\$9 for 3 years.

Don't miss an issue!

SOCIAL ORDER

SOCIAL ORDER
3908 WESTMINSTER PLACE
ST. LOUIS 8, MO.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS
313 N FIRST ST
ANN ARBOR MICH
5823 000 00

